

## Howe Quits in EC Rift

Lag on Europe  
Costs Thatcher  
A Longtime Ally

By Craig R. Whitney  
New York Times Service

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's fierce opposition to a federal European Community treaty on Thursday with the resignation of Sir Geoffrey Howe, the deputy prime minister.

He was the last remaining member of the team she brought into government in 1979.

The issue of whether Britain should finally either climb aboard or jump off as Europe gathers speed toward economic, monetary and political union could determine the outcome of the next British general election, which has to be called before July of 1992.

Mrs. Thatcher and her party suffer continuing unpopularity in public opinion polls.

At the heart of the dispute in Britain is the very core issue of the new Europe itself: How much individual sovereignty will the member states agree to surrender to each other and to the EC Commission in Brussels?

Mrs. Thatcher has drawn the line at European currency union, arguing fiercely that the House of Commons would never agree to surrender to a European central bank the right to decide how many pounds sterling should be in circulation or what they should be worth.

Sir Geoffrey, dismissed as Mrs. Thatcher's foreign secretary in July of last year for insisting too hard that she agree to European moves toward monetary and political union, quit Thursday evening after a short meeting with the prime minister at No. 10 Downing Street.

His letter of resignation said that he could no longer support Mrs. Thatcher's views on the issue, which he called "crucial" to the future of the British nation.

Mrs. Thatcher's reply said that their differences were not so great as he supposed. Her office said later that she had accepted his resignation "more in sorrow than in anger."

The prime minister's Conservative Party has been trailing far behind the opposition Labour Party in public opinion polls since early last year. The latest Market & Opinion Research International poll, published in The Sunday Times last weekend, showed a 16-point gap, with Labour leading by 49 to 33 percent of those surveyed.

Most British voters will not decide how to cast their ballots in the next election on the European issue. They will make their decisions based on issues such as the unpopular poll tax, the per capita charge introduced by Mrs. Thatcher's government during the past year, and the level of interest rates, which the government raised to double-digit levels late last year to combat Britain's high inflation.

That is now running at nearly 11 percent, more than three times the rate in the United States. Mrs. Thatcher's new chancellor of the Exchequer, John Major, allowed the pound to be tied more closely to the German mark early last month.

That was after Mrs. Thatcher finally decided to let Britain join the European exchange rate mechanism as part of the first phase of European monetary union, something that both Sir Geoffrey and Mr. Major's predecessor, Nigel Lawson, had urged on her before the European summit meeting in Madrid in June 1989. Sir Geoffrey paid for that with his job the following month, and Mr. Lawson resigned a year ago in October after Mrs. Thatcher refused to let Britain join the exchange rate mechanism then.



ISRAELI VENGEANCE — A young relative of Omar Sarhan, who stabbed three Israelis to death, is consoled by another relative after soldiers blew up their house on Thursday. At the United Nations, the secretary-general suggested a Geneva Convention meeting to discuss protection for Palestinians. Page 6.

## U.S. Commander Says Forces Can Obliterate Iraq General Calls Hussein a 'Megalomaniac,' but Hopes to Avoid a Conflict

By Youssef M. Ibrahim  
New York Times Service

RIYADH — The commanding general of the U.S. troops in the Gulf said Thursday that allied forces could obliterate Iraq, but that such action might not be in the best interests of regional stability.

General Norman Schwarzkopf, the U.S. commander, stressed in an interview that "if we have to fight, I am going to use everything that is available to me to inflict the maximum number of casualties on the enemy as possible."

He also expressed hope that a military conflagration could be avoided as President Saddam Hussein of Iraq realized he was facing what the general called impossible odds.

General Schwarzkopf described Mr. Hussein as a "megalomaniac" and a "ruthless" man obsessed with forcing his leadership upon the Arab world.

General Schwarzkopf, who went to Riyadh in late August to assume command of the more than 210,000 American military personnel deployed in the Gulf, seemed to believe that while a war could erupt anytime, he did not expect it for a few more weeks.

In an hour-long conversation, the general discussed the odds of a chemical weapon attack by the Iraqis, potential damage to Saudi and Kuwaiti oil fields in a war, U.S. and Iraqi troop morale, and cooperation with other nations' armed forces deployed against Iraq.

He also offered his evaluation of the fighting quality of the estimated 500,000 Iraqi soldiers facing him, and of the character and psychological profile of his prime enemy, Mr. Hussein.

President George Bush said Thursday he was "more determined than ever" to drive Mr. Hussein out of Kuwait. The Iraqis said it would allow Christmas visits to the foreign hostages. Page 6.

Associated Press reported from Burlington, Massachusetts.

"Today I am more determined than ever. This aggression will not stand," Mr. Bush said during a campaign trip. "The brutality against innocent civilians will not be tolerated and will not stand."

[Mr. Bush said he still intended to give economic sanctions time to work. "No one wants a peaceful end to this crisis more than I do, but no one is more determined to see this aggression turned back," he said.]

General Schwarzkopf — a big man whom troops nicknamed "the bear" and "Stormin' Norman" — exuded a sense of calm confidence, asserting at several points that he had not the slightest doubt that in a war, his troops would decisively defeat the Iraqi Army.

He said that although the 350,000 allied troops could obliterate Iraq if so ordered, "I would like to think that the ultimate objective is to make sure that we have

peace, stability and a correct balance of power in the Middle East, so that all nations can continue to prosper without the fear of being attacked or blackmailed by a neighboring state.

"There are many ways you can accomplish that," he added, noting that the total destruction of Iraq may not be "in the interest of the long-term balance of power in this region."

Asked whether he sides with doves who are advocating a continued embargo of Iraq to force it to disgorge Kuwait, or hawks who are calling for a military confrontation to settle the Gulf crisis, General Schwarzkopf said: "I don't consider myself a dove. And I certainly don't consider myself a hawk. Maybe I would describe myself as owl."

"That is, wise enough to understand that you want to do everything possible to avoid war," he said. "But once you're committed to war, then ferocious enough to do whatever is necessary to get it over as quickly as possible in victory."

"He is not stupid," the general said of Mr. Hussein. "And I would hope that within this conflict he would understand that to continue down this road where we are going, he will not accomplish any of these things that he has in mind."

General Schwarzkopf cast strong doubts on the effectiveness of Iraqi missiles to hit targets in Saudi Arabia accurately or in

significant numbers. He said there was little chance that Iraq, which he said may possess hundreds of medium-range missiles, has succeeded in attaching chemical warheads to them which it could deliver on a vast scale.

"I cannot say that no missile will come in. It would be foolish for me to say that. But I can tell you that I discount their rhetoric about their missiles because we know a great deal about their missiles, and the things that they claim they can do we do not think they can do," he said.

General Schwarzkopf said he regarded the Iraqi missile capability as a weapon of terror that may frighten people, rather than a military weapon that could affect the conduct of the war.

He also said the Saudi oil fields were, by and large, immune to any major disruptions caused by Iraqi missile or air attacks.

"Given the capability of their missiles, they could make a terror attack on a town as they did in the Iraq-Iran war," he said. "I think they could probably inflict some damage on the oil fields that would not be precise damage and it would be more of a form of harassment than a form of closing down the oil fields."

"The only way they could close down the oil fields is to physically occupy them, or, the other way I could see them physically close them is to repeatedly attack them

See TACTICS, Page 2

## Bush Denies He Prepares U.S. For a Gulf War Says He Wants to Refocus Attention on Hostage Plight

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ORLANDO, Florida — President George Bush said Thursday he was not trying to beat the war drums but wanted to refocus public attention on the need to end Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and rescue foreign hostages held there.

"I'm not trying to sound the tocsin of war, but I am trying to point out the concerns that I feel, for example on the hostage question," Mr. Bush said when asked whether, by his recent harsh rhetoric on the Gulf situation, he was preparing the United States to go to war with Iraq.

"I want to have a peaceful resolution to this question," Mr. Bush said during a campaign swing for Republicans before the Nov. 6 congressional elections. "I am prepared to give sanctions time to work, but I'm not ruling out further options and I'm not trying to prepare our country for war."

At the same time, he continued a verbal barrage against Saddam Hussein, suggesting that the Iraqi president had surpassed Hitler in brutality and pledging to "see his aggression turned back."

The harsh language prompted his spokesman to say that Mr. Bush was speaking out "to prepare the American people for any eventualities." Martin Fitzwater said, "If we do have to take dramatic action, we want them to know why."

The president's day combined campaigning with remarks on the Gulf crisis, and at a news conference in Orlando he conceded it was a "little bit awkward" because he was a few days before an election and he wanted to continue to work for Republican candidates.

At the same time, he said he

wanted to keep the American people informed about his feelings in the Gulf, where more than 200,000 U.S. troops are deployed.

Mr. Bush ordered the military building in early August, when Mr. Hussein invaded Kuwait and threatened Saudi Arabia. Senior U.S. officials have said the administration is considering adding another 100,000 troops.

Earlier Thursday, in Massachusetts, Mr. Bush said that Mr. Hussein's tactic of using U.S. civilians as "human shields" against attacks on military targets was "brutality that I don't believe Adolf Hitler ever participated in."

The remark raised eyebrows, and Mr. Bush was asked in Orlando whether his comparison might be overdrawn. "I don't think I'm overstating it," the president replied. He said that Hitler at least had respected the legitimacy of foreign embassies.

Questioned about rising public jitters over prospects of war with Iraq, Mr. Bush said his recent emphasis on the subject was designed to refocus attention on U.S. goals in the Gulf after a long period of distraction by domestic issues such as budget-cutting negotiations.

Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2 and now faces international economic sanctions and a huge multinational military force.

Mr. Bush said he was awkward for him to attempt such a clarification because he was also involved in partisan political campaigning and his motives might be misunderstood.

But he said he could separate these strands and especially wanted

See BUSH, Page 6

## A Plea From Heath: Keep a Cool Head

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Former Prime Minister Edward Heath condemned President George Bush on Thursday for enmeshing himself in a personal battle with Saddam Hussein, and called on Mr. Bush to have a "cool head and patience" in resolving the Gulf crisis.

At the same time, the Foreign Office criticized a German initiative under which Willy Brandt, the former West German chancellor, will go to Baghdad to try to free Westerners held hostage by Iraq.

Mr. Heath, who went to Baghdad last week, said he objected to statements by Mr. Bush on Wednesday that he had "had it" with the actions of Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi president.

"These issues are far too great to be decided on a personal like or dislike by the head of the greatest and most powerful country in the world," said Mr. Heath, who met with Mr. Hussein and returned from Iraq with 33 old and ailing British hostages.

"It's horrifying that this position should be reached," he said. "What is required is a cool head and patience."

Mr. Heath, a senior member of the governing Conservative Party who served as prime minister from 1970 to 1974, called on Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to dissociate herself from Mr. Bush's statement.

Mr. Heath said he supported Mr. Brandt's planned mission, which was given a cautious endorsement by the German government.

Hans Klein, chief spokesman for Chancellor Helmut Kohl, said the

government viewed a private mission that included Mr. Brandt as the best way of pressing Iraq to free foreigners seized after Baghdad invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2.

Last week, Mr. Brandt called off a mission to Iraq after objections from Mr. Kohl, who said that efforts by individual politicians to claim more of the more than 2,000 Western and Japanese hostages held by Iraq undermined an international front against Baghdad.

Mr. Klein said Thursday that the government had suggested that Mr. Brandt, who is chairman of the Socialist International, be joined by Emilio Colombo, a former Italian prime minister who is chairman of the European Christian Democrats, and by Willy de Clerq, a Belgian former European Community commissioner and chairman of the European Liberal Democrats.

Mr. Klein said, "The government considers a mission by leading European personalities, acting on their own responsibility, the most appropriate way in the current situation to make clear to the Iraqi leadership the international community's demand for the immediate release of hostages from all nations."

(UPI, Reuters, AP)

■ Mission From Ireland — Three Irish legislators flew to Baghdad on Thursday on an unofficial mission to try to secure the release of about 220 Irish citizens, Reuters reported from Dublin.

The Irish prime minister, Charles Haughey, has voiced disapproval of the trip by the three, who will meet senior Iraqi officials and also plan to talk to President Hussein.

## U.S. Index Flashes Recession Warning

By Lawrence Malkin  
International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — A closely watched index of U.S. business activity fell to recession level in October for the first time since the 1982 slump, and the survey director said Thursday that no relief was in sight.

The monthly index of the National Association of Purchasing Management slipped one percentage point to 43.4 percent, the lowest since December 1982. By the group's measurements, a reading below 50 indicates a declining manufacturing sector while a reading below 44 indicates that the entire economy is declining.

The figure is tracked by the Federal Reserve Board because it is the month's first snapshot of the economy. It is followed closely by the employment data, which will be released on Friday. Another number released Thursday showed a 2.8 percent drop in September construction spending, the largest monthly decline since the recession month of January 1982.

These and other figures continue to belie the backward-looking third-quarter statistics on gross national product released Tuesday, which showed 1.8 percent growth and were widely regarded as the economy's last hurrah after almost eight years of Reagan-era growth.

The new figures were good news for the bond market. Anticipating lower interest rates, traders pushed 30-year U.S. Treasury bonds yields down to 8.9 percent from Wednesday's close of 8.78 percent.

Joe Plocek of the consulting firm McCarthy Crisanti Maffei said:

"We really look like we skidded into recession in October."

All major categories in the purchasing managers survey declined except for an increase in new export orders, but at 51 they registered the lowest increase since the indicator was incorporated in 1988.

The purchasing managers reported that new orders of all kinds continued to fall for the fourth consecutive month to an index level of 43.8, lowest since November 1982, the trough of the last recession.

Production declined to 43, and deliveries by suppliers to 47.8, reflecting slower demand and lack of backlogs as orders slackened off.

The indexes are compiled by polling purchasing executives of more than 300 industrial companies and comparing the number of positive against negative responses; a falling

index number means more executives are reporting bad news.

Robert J. Breitz of Pitney Bowes Inc., chairman of the committee that conducts the survey, said, "Virtually all indicators confirmed the growing weakness in manufacturing, which was enough to pull the overall economy into slightly negative growth. With new orders the weakest in eight years, immediate relief does not appear likely."

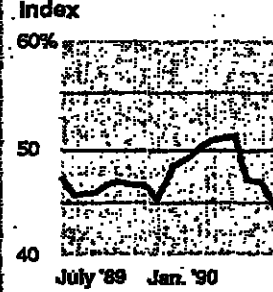
Gordon Richards, economist for the National Association of Manufacturers, confirmed that the purchasing managers report was "one more item indicating we are entering a recession."

Because manufacturing accounts for about 22 percent of U.S. output, it has become fashionable in

See DATA, Page 14

### Manufacturing Slows Down

Purchasing Management  
Index



A reading below 50 percent indicates a general decline, above 50 percent suggests general expansion.

Source: National Association of Purchasing Management

### Kiosk

#### Leader Chosen In Pakistan

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (AP) — The leader of a conservative coalition that defeated former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's party at the polls was chosen Thursday to head Pakistan's fifth civilian government in 43 years.

Nawaz Sharif, whose backers scored a landslide victory in the general elections Oct. 24, was assured the prime minister's post after receiving the nomination of the Islamic Democratic Alliance. He had been chosen by his own party, The Pakistan Muslim League, on Wednesday. The next prime minister will be elected by the 217 members of the National Assembly. Voting could take place as early as Sunday. The new Parliament is to be sworn in Saturday.

Dow Close		The Dollar in New York	
Up	12.62	DM	1.5046
Down	2,454.96	Pound	1.9445
		Yen	130.55
		FF	5.0445

## A Pole Finds Capitalism Tailor-Made

By Stephen Engelberg  
New York Times Service

WARSAW — Jerzy Urban, the former spokesman for the Communist government who warded off a generation of reporters with his cynical wit and acid tongue, is Poland's newest capitalist success story.

Mr. Urban is taking full advantage of the new laws he established a free press. His book lampooning the country's leading cultural and political figures, "Urban's Alphabet," has sold nearly 600,000 copies and earned its author \$80,000 in profits so far.

And the satiric weekly he founded is already one of the best-selling publications in Poland, doubling its press run to 200,000 after only a few weeks on the newsstands.

"I like capitalism a lot," said Mr. Urban, who now wears well-tailored pin-striped suits. "When I was in the government, I was never so rich and I never had the chance

to play such a fascinating game as I do now."

Throughout the 1980s, Mr. Urban was a familiar face on television, in the West as well as in Poland. He served as a lightning rod for popular hatred of the Communist government in the years after the imposition of martial law in December 1981. He was usually seated out to explain the unexplainable, and did it in as surly but clever a style as was possible.

These days, it is Mr. Urban who hurls the darts. He seems to be taking greatest pleasure in attacking the government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki for what he says has been its arrogant treatment of the Polish people.

Mazowiecki is running against Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, for the presidency of Poland in an election to be held on Nov. 25.

"This government has inherited many of our flaws," Mr. Urban said. "They have a complete inability to justify their decisions to the public. They have believed themselves so beautiful and good that they didn't need politics."

Under Communism, jokes about the "authorities" were both a means of rebellion and a way to cope with the drab realities of life. All that ended when Solidarity came to power. In the first year of the Mazowiecki government, unity was the national mantra and virtually no good jokes about the nation's leaders made the rounds.

After a year of stoic endurance of the economic program, Mr. Urban is betting that people are ready to laugh a bit at dogmas propounded by the post-Communist authorities.

Called Nie, from the Polish word for "no," Mr. Urban's weekly has hurled brickbats at Mr. Mazowiecki and Mr. Walesa. Even Pope John Paul II, the country's most beloved native son, has not escaped mention.

Much of the humor has the flavor of an adult version of Mad magazine, mixing political analysis with locker-room vulgarity.

## Big Mac's Plastic Box Headed for the Dump

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

CHICAGO — Bowing to pressure from environmentalists, McDonald's Corp. conceded Thursday that the plastic foam packaging that cradles its Big Mac hamburger and other food is a packaging dinosaur that will not survive into a less wasteful age.

The rugged little polystyrene box, which was a design innovation that became one of the nation's best-known packages before turning into a symbol of the garbage crisis, will be phased out by the company at its outlets around the world, McDonald's announced.

The decision was an abrupt about-face for McDonald's, the biggest U.S. fast-food company and the nation's most voracious user of polystyrene. For years it had stoutly defended the need to use plastic in its restaurants.

"Although some scientific studies indicate that foam packaging is environmentally sound, our customers just don't feel good about it," the McDonald's USA president, Edward H. Reisi, said Thursday. "So we're changing."

Mr. Reisi said the company, based in Oak Brook, Illinois, will begin eliminating its foam containers within 60 days in the United States. At outlets abroad the timetable will vary by country.

Jim Cantalupo, president of McDonald's International, said the company would continue testing for the best materials to replace

See PLASTIC, Page 2



## In a New Battle of Berlin, Lines Drawn on the Capital Issue

By John Tagliabue  
New York Times Service

BERLIN — Nearly a month after unification, this sprawling city of more than 3 million people is still struggling to become the united Germany's capital in more than name alone.

The problem arises because the treaty uniting the Germans declared Berlin the capital, but ruled that only the all-German legislature that will be elected in December could decide where to locate the ministries and bureaucracy.

No decision is expected before the spring. Berliners appeared in need of reassurance this week. On Tuesday, the legislature in Bonn named Frankfurt, not Berlin, as the permanent seat of the Central Bank.

Earlier, Bonn bureaucrats had made public a report complaining that Unification Day ceremonies in Berlin on Oct. 3 were chaotic.

And Bonn's arbiters of finance let it be known that they favored the immediate abolition of state subsidies that now pay about half of Berlin's annual budget of more than \$17 billion.

Heinrich Albertz, a former mayor, appeared to strike Berliners' sensibilities when he warned Wednesday that "Berlin has to be the true capital of a united Germany."

If the ministries and their bureaucrats stayed in the distant Rhineland, Mr. Albertz said, then a united Germany was "in danger of losing westward."

The arguments over Berlin are made at two levels. On one, there is the cost of shifting ministries, financing accommodation for officials and their staffs, and reorganization.

Tino Schwizewski, former mayor of East Berlin and now the deputy mayor of all the city, warned recently of crushing unemployment in Berlin if the federal ministries stayed in Bonn, given the loss of roughly 180,000 jobs in the now dissolved bureaucracy of the former East German government.

Berlin's unemployment rate, he said, could rise as high as 25 percent.

A spokesman for the city government, Werner Kolhoff, said that without a thriving Berlin, the prospects of the five new states carved out of the region that used to be East Germany were bleak.

"What other city can be the motor for the region?" he asked. "Our theory is that the integration of the new states has to happen through Berlin, or it will happen very fitfully, or not at all."

"Berlin is on the razor's edge," Mr. Kolhoff said.

There is a strong anarchic scene, and many in the West perceive the city as overrun by foreigners. Polish moonlighters and Soviet Jewish immigrants abound, and a large Turkish population remains, a reminder of the effort to offset a labor drain after the wall went up. Then, workers were hired from Turkey to replace the working-class families who had fled west.

Boosters of Berlin point to surveys like one taken recently in what used to be East Germany showing that 87 percent of the population favors Berlin as capital. But there are dissenters.

"I feel I am an East European," said Stefan Ret, a writer in what used to be East Berlin.

Berlin is 80 kilometers (50 miles) from Poland, nearly as far east as Prague, and the cobble streets and crumbling buildings of the neighborhood where Mr. Ret is opening a publishing business remind one more of Warsaw or Bucharest than Paris or London.

"The question of the capital is more urgent for West Berlin than for us," said Mr. Ret. "People there are afraid they will go under with the east. If the people in Bonn feel more comfortable there, let them stay there then."

"It can be a great metropolis, or it can be a poverty zone. Both are possible."

But the other argument is over the symbolism and the political effects of the move. For most Germans, Berlin stands for recovery and reconstruction and the defiance of the Soviet attempt to starve the city out of its freedom with the 1948 blockade.

Berlin also recalls the flight to freedom of millions of East Germans that provoked construction of the Berlin Wall.

But it also stands for Prussian militarism and failed empires, and the failed democracy of the Weimar period, with the hyperinflation, disorder and decadence out of which Nazism arose.

"Many Germans never liked Berlin," said Joachim Trenkner, a television producer who has seen Berlin through thick and thin. "They regard it a little the way the rest of America sees New York. Basically an evil place, even if lively and interesting. They go there to amuse themselves, but they don't really like it or trust it."

Partly, he admits, this is political. Berlin is run by a coalition of Social Democrats and a leftist grouping called the Alternative List that is often at loggerheads with the conservative Bonn government.

## Kazakhstan Joins Rush Away From The Soviet Empire

By David Remnick  
Washington Post Service

ALMA-ATA, USSR — Four years ago, Mikhail S. Gorbachev dismissed the longtime leader of Kazakhstan and replaced him with a Russian who had never set foot in the republic.

Hours after the announcement, demonstrators took to the streets of Alma-Ata. Police and Interior Ministry troops, using dogs and clubs, arrested hundreds of the protesters. A new phenomenon had arrived in Soviet history. For the first time, a Kremlin leader was forced into a slow process of discovery that the center would not hold, that the empire accumulated by czars and general secretaries was in decline.

The "December events" of 1986 in Alma-Ata, said Hassan Kozhahmedov, chairman of the new National Democratic Party, "raised the question of empire, in the union and even abroad in Eastern Europe. People saw that if even a beaten-down people like the Kazakhs could rise up against the empire, then all was not lost."

Ozhbas Sultemenov, a Supreme Soviet deputy from Kazakhstan, said the riots were "also the first sign that violence, as well as protest, was in our future."

Since that first spark in this Central Asian city near the Chinese border, the three Baltic republics and Armenia have declared their independence. Nearly all 15 Soviet republics, Russia included, have passed declarations of sovereignty. Nationalist violence — in Kislovodsk, Fergana, Osh, Dushanbe, Baku, Tbilisi, Yerevan — has become a permanent threat.

It is hard to tell which crisis presses President Gorbachev hardest: the collapsing economy or the collapsing union. But, according to Alexander N. Yakovlev, one of Mr. Gorbachev's closest allies, the new generation of leaders had "just no idea" of the scale of the country's ethnic problems.

In Kazakhstan, Mr. Gorbachev wanted to break up the clan rule of Dinmukhammed A. Kunayev, who has been widely described since his removal four years ago as a corrupt leader who routinely brought Leonid I. Brezhnev expensive gifts. But Mr. Gorbachev apparently did not realize the implications of installing a "Moscow man."

Moscow had always treated Kazakhstan with colonial hands. Only three of the republic's 30 leaders since 1920 have been Kazakhs.

And Mr. Kunayev, the last of the Kazakhs, was an instrument of Moscow, serving Mr. Brezhnev, the Communist Party general secretary, as a loyal Politburo member for a quarter-century.

The Kremlin also had used the vast republic, a land mass bigger than all of Western Europe, as a dumping ground for unwanted industries and people. Kazakhstan was used for nuclear tests in Semipalatinsk, for polluting industries that blackened the air and dried up the Aral Sea, for the exile of hundreds of thousands of people and for one of the biggest networks of prison camps and forced-labor sites in the empire.

In the last four years, nationalist movements took shape much faster in Soviet areas other than Central Asia. As openness increased, Kazakhstan became notable mainly for ecological disasters, not its level of ethnic protest. By the standards

of Gorbachev-era politics, Kazakhstan was a sea of quiet.

No more. A week of interviews in Alma-Ata and in the mainly Russian-speaking city of Karaganda revealed a republic troubled by ethnic division and on the edge of rebellion against its decades of subservience to "the center."

Now the Kazakhs — who form less than half the republic's population of 16 million — are beginning to make demands similar to the nationalist movements in such places as Estonia and Latvia. There is talk of creating an economic federation of Kazakhstan and the other four republics of Muslims that stretch from the Caspian Sea to Mongolia.

At the same time, the Russian-speaking majority has grown anxious about its future. "There is already a Berlin Wall growing up in Kazakhstan," said Yuri Bunakov, a leader of the group Yedinstvo, or Unity, which defends the rights of Russian speakers in the republic. "They want us all to speak Kazakh," he said. "Suddenly, in this republic, we are all divided."

After the great 1986 storm began to recede, the issue that most galvanized Kazakhstan was the state of its environment. The Stalinist system of centralized commands had long ago determined that it would, quite literally, make a mess of Kazakhstan.

"Kazakhstan was the junk heap where Russia threw its garbage," said Mr. Sultemenov, the Supreme Soviet deputy. "Moscow decided that it could, with complete impunity, dump all of its filthiest industries to the east. What's more, 93 percent of the industries here belong to the center. So we suffer, but we don't even protest. We are left deserted with a poisoned land."

Over the decades the Soviets have abused the Aral Sea, draining off the water to irrigate the cotton crop and reducing much of the sea to a sand bed. Beyond the calamity of a sea that is disappearing through human ignorance, the side effects in the region are devastating. The groundwater in the region is poisoned, which has dramatically increased rates of infant mortality and the frequency of serious illnesses.

Near the huge lead plants in the Chirchik area of southern Kazakhstan, Mr. Sultemenov said, "the air has been destroyed altogether." In Dzhanbul, chemical plants have filled the air above the city with yellow phosphorus.

In Karaganda, the local population talks obsessively about the probability of high winds — the better to give some relief from the acrid smells of the local mines and metallurgical factories. In Ust-Kamenogorsk recently, an explosion at a chemical plant sent a cloud of poisonous beryllium gas floating through the city.

Besides the many factories that foul the air and the sea, there have been hundreds of nuclear tests in Kazakhstan, first above ground and then below. When the human rights activist Andrei D. Sakharov was a young physicist in the early 1950s, developing the first Soviet hydrogen bomb, he worked at an outpost in the republic known only as "The Installation."

In his memoirs, Mr. Sakharov recalled his dawning horror as the first tests were carried out, remembering how he surveyed the scorched landscape and dead birds and heard reports that people in the area were dying of radiation poisoning. Later, Mr. Sakharov estimated that over the decades thousands of people would suffer illnesses as a result of the nuclear testing in Kazakhstan. The experience helped make him a dissident.

Last year, Mr. Sultemenov organized a movement to put an end to the nuclear testing in Kazakhstan. He won support by working within the republic's Communist Party, and he appears to have won assurance from Moscow that the tests will end.



Soviet students holding a hunger strike in Moscow on Thursday to protest the government's handling of Communist Party property.

## Defying Gorbachev, Russia Shifts Gears

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MOSCOW — The Russian Federation, the most powerful republic in the Soviet Union, on Thursday formally launched a radical 500-day plan for changing over to a market economy.

The move puts the country's largest and most populous republic on a collision course with President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and the central government, which has approved an economic program that mixes elements of the 500-day plan with a more conservative plan.

The aim of the Russian plan, drafted by a team of economists led by Stanislav S. Shatalin, is to create a market economy by late 1992 through privatization and a gradual elimination of price controls.

The 500-day plan will be carried out in four stages — two of 100 days and two of 150 days.

During the first, 100-day stage, a committee will be created to coordinate the process throughout Russia, according to a copy of the plan obtained by journalists.

Privatization will begin, banking and land reform will be introduced and public spending will be cut. Private property rights will be guaranteed for Soviet citizens and foreigners.

Tight control of the money supply will help control inflation as prices are gradually liberalized, with price controls lifted initially only on luxury items.

A new, single commercial exchange rate for the ruble will replace the complex system of "coefficients" that govern exchange rates for foreign trade. A currency market will be developed, with rates established by supply and demand.

In the 150 days of the second

stage, price liberalization will be taken further and include the agricultural sector. Supply and demand will determine prices for a wide range of consumer goods and services, but not essential items.

By mid-1991, incomes should be linked to the rate of inflation. Credit will be tight and new tax measures will be introduced, forcing producers to respond more to the needs of the market.

Privatization will spread and many state enterprises will be transformed into joint stock companies. Inefficient enterprises may be forced to close.

In the third stage, of 150 days, privatization will continue. Ministries and other government bodies playing a management role in the economy will be abolished. Anti-trust legislation will be introduced and competition encouraged.

More consumer goods should

appear, but there may be a decline in heavy industrial output as a result of the changes. Small enterprises are expected to mushroom.

Currency auctions and exchanges should be operating and commercial banks should be dealing in currencies.

In the 100 days of the fourth and final stage, the market economy is expected to take off, led by light industry and food production.

Privatization will intensify and small businesses will get more support. Tariffs may be used to protect Russian firms against foreign competition.

Monetary policy may be relaxed and taxes on company profits reduced to boost economic activity. The economy will draw strength from foreign investment, technology and management skills.

(Reuters, AP)

## U.S. Approved High-Tech Sales to Iraq

By Stuart Auerbach  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Over the last five years, the United States approved for sale to Iraq \$1.5 billion worth of computers, electronic equipment and machine tools that could be used in that country's programs to develop nuclear weapons, missiles and poison gas, according to government documents.

The list of sales includes computers that went to Iraq's Interior Ministry, its military college and research labs that are believed to be involved in missile, gas and nuclear programs. Other computers were sold to help Iraq analyze satellite photos. A steel-forging press was sold to the Ministry of Heavy Industries for use in Iraq's petroleum industry, but U.S. government officials said it also could be used by the military.

A congressional investigator looking into the government's policy on technology sales

to Iraq said, "It's quite shocking when you see the kinds of materials that were sent."

The sales were the most visible manifestation of an American tilt toward Iraq in its punishing war with Iran. The tilt ended shortly before the Aug. 2 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, although the Commerce Department unofficially began to slow down the process of issuing export licenses to Iraq last spring, officials said.

The officials added that 71 export applications, worth almost \$30 million, were tied up by late July, when Secretary of State James A. Baker 3rd asked Commerce Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher to impose more rigid controls on sales to Iraq. A few months earlier, administration sources said, the State Department had balked at imposing tighter controls.

Government documents show that sales were approved by the Commerce, Defense, Energy and State departments and the intelligence agencies.

While former defense officials have said they tried to block some sales, the government documents show that the Pentagon declined to appeal differences with the Commerce Department to higher authorities in the administration.

Paul Freedberg, the former Commerce Department undersecretary in charge of export controls, said he recalled four cases in which the Defense Department objected, but all four sales went through because the Pentagon did not appeal them. "It was U.S. policy to continue normal trade with Iraq," Mr. Freedberg said.

Government documents show that total U.S. sales of high-technology goods surged in 1985 and 1986, reaching \$780 million, but dropped down to \$720 million over the four-year period from 1986 until the middle of this year.

## TACTICS: Commander Says Forces Can Destroy Iraq PLASTIC: A Big Mac Dump

(Continued from page 1)

with overwhelming air strikes," the general said.

"Neither of those two things are going to happen," he said.

He said, however, that the Iraqis who are occupying Kuwait could seriously damage that country's oil facilities, which are said to have been wired with explosives.

General Schwarzkopf said there were no major problems of coordination among the multinational forces gathered here. In addition to the U.S. troops, these include thousands of British, Egyptian, French, Syrian, Moroccan, Pakistani and other forces.

"Anytime you have this many forces involved in an operation, it's complicated. It's complicated even if you have this many forces involved from only one nation. So, it is not a simple business at all, but I am satisfied that currently we have as good a coordination as possible, as could be asked for," he said.

The general said commanders of all the major armies here met regularly and that he is in daily contact with General Khalid Ibn Sul-

tan, the commander of the Saudi army of about 65,000 men.

"The navies are working excellently together," he said. "The air forces are working excellently together. Absolutely no coordination problems at all. The armies, of course, are still in the process of arriving so you know you'll see more coordination, more exercises in the future between the armies," he said.

Although he did not say so, the tone of General Schwarzkopf's comments left little doubt that while all the forces here are in theory under the command of the Saudi Arabia, if a war started, it would be American commanders who would assume the general direction of the battles and the allied forces.

He denied that Syrian forces, which number 4,000, may be pulled out as a result of recent discontent expressed in Damascus with the U.S. policy on Israel and the Palestinians and the criticism directed by American politicians at the Syrian regime, which has been compared to that of Mr. Hussein.

Asked about the sensitive issue of whether all the nations whose

armies are gathered here agree on their strategic objective, and whether that objective is limited to liberating Kuwait or goes further, to the elimination of the Ba'athist regime in Baghdad and, perhaps, the physical elimination of the Iraqi leader himself, General Schwarzkopf said his military mission had three clear objectives.

One, he said, was the defense of Saudi Arabia. Another was the liberation of Kuwait and the restoration of its legitimate government.

The third objective, he said, was the establishment of stability and peace in the region, an objective which he conceded needed to be clarified.

"I would like to think that all of the nations involved here would have arrived at a consensus as to what the objectives are. I really don't think that I should be the person to decide these objectives," he said.

"I think that is something that all of the players need to, you know, have clear in their minds before any military action gets too far down the road," he said.

## PLASTIC: A Big Mac Dump

(Continued from page 1)

plastic foam, and would "phase them into our restaurants as they become available."

McDonald's devised the phase-out plan with the Washington-based Environmental Defense Fund, a nonprofit group.

In Miami, a spokeswoman at Burger King Corp., a main competitor of McDonald's, said that the restaurant chain had used mainly paper packaging since its founding in 1954.

McDonald's, which operates 8,000 restaurants in the United States, says the foam helps hold in heat, protects the food from contamination and resists grease stains better than paper boxes.

But environmental advocates say the production process generates pollutants and note that the box has a useful life of only a few minutes, while it lingers for decades when it is littered or dumped in a landfill.

(NYT, AP)

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Israeli Warplanes Attack in Bekaa

JERUSALEM (Combined dispatches) — Israeli warplanes struck guerrilla targets in the Bekaa area of Lebanon on Thursday in the second raid on the country in eight days, the Israeli military command announced.

It said five fighter jets struck positions in the village of Majdal Balhees on the edge of the Israeli self-declared security zone 45 kilometers (about 30 miles) southeast of Beirut.

The raid was the 16th Israeli air strike this year. The last was on Oct. 24, when jets bombed what officials said were launching pads for rockets fired at targets in Israel. (AP, Reuters)

### Blunder Keeps Chess Match Tied

NEW YORK (Reuters) — Gari Kasparov, the 16-year-old, and Anatoli Karpov, the challenger, stumbled through an error-filled evening before drawing the ninth game of their world title chess match. With grand masters predicting Mr. Kasparov to engage in another desperate fight for survival, Mr. Karpov committed the worst error of the match on Wednesday, losing a strong central pawn for no reason.

He was fortunate to be able to recover it two moves later, but his superiority was dissipated and he had to offer a draw. Mr. Karpov explained that he had intended another move first and had played his plan in the wrong order. When he committed the error, his opponent stared at the board wide-eyed, shaking his head in shock.

The players are now tied, 4-1/2 points to 4-1/2, in the 24-game series. Mr. Kasparov will keep his title if the match is drawn, 12 to 12.

### U.S. Report Assails Ex-Housing Chief

WASHINGTON (AP) — Samuel R. Pierce Jr., secretary of housing and urban development in the Reagan administration, directed federal grants to political friends and later misled Congress about his involvement, possibly committing perjury, congressional investigators said Thursday.

In their report, they stopped short of saying that Mr. Pierce committed perjury or that he and others at the agency violated criminal laws. They said those questions would be left to the special prosecutor investigating the former secretary's actions.

The investigators found, among other things, that the housing department under Mr. Pierce was "an agency in total disarray and was woefully mismanaged." Housing programs established to help the poor were abused, and the department "was enveloped by influence-peddling, favoritism, abuse, greed, fraud, embezzlement and theft."

### Record Soviet Immigration in Israel

JERUSALEM (AP) — The arrival of 21,000 immigrants in October, all but 1,000 of them Soviet Jews, has set a record in the current wave of Soviet immigration, Absorption Ministry officials said Thursday. A total of 134,500 immigrants have arrived so far in 1990. Of those, 122,000 were from the Soviet Union.

In October, the highest monthly immigration was recorded since the massive influx from 1948 to 1951, during Israel's first years of statehood. The previous high was in September, when 19,500 arrived, including 18,725 Soviets.

The immigration has increased unemployment and placed a strain on housing and government finances. Israel has budgeted \$2.3 billion during the next three years for immigrant absorption and is seeking financial aid from outside sources.

### U.K. Asylum Procedure Is Attacked

LONDON (Reuters) — Amnesty International criticized Britain's procedures Thursday for granting political asylum, saying they created the risk of sending refugees home to face imprisonment, torture or death.

The London-based rights organization asserted in a report that Britain's process for determining refugee status falls short of international standards in a number of important areas and should be independently reviewed.

According to the group, people seeking asylum have no guarantee of access to independent help and face an unreasonably long wait; there is a possibility of arbitrary and prolonged detention without any right of appeal. The shortcomings "create a very real risk of individuals being expelled to countries where they face imprisonment, torture or death." Amnesty cited the case of a group of Kurds who were returned to Turkey last year despite allegations that their applications had not been properly examined.

### Curfews Imposed Near Cape Town

JOHANNESBURG (AP) — The police imposed curfews and other restrictions Thursday on three black areas near Cape Town, but lifted similar measures from 11 townships outside Johannesburg.

The law and order minister, Adrian Vlok, said late Wednesday that recent violence had made it "necessary to introduce extraordinary measures" in three townships outside Cape Town — Khayelitsha, Crossroads and Lingshele. At 9 P.M. to 4 A.M. curfew went into effect Thursday in the townships, where hundreds of thousands of blacks live.

The measures announced by Mr. Vlok give the police additional powers to restrict demonstrations and other forms of protest, but are not as severe as measures imposed under a four-year nationwide state of emergency that was lifted in June.

### Toll in India Temple Riots Tops 200

AYODHYA, India (AP) — Religious riots intensified Thursday, and the death toll in nine days of clashes rose to more than 200. The fighting was sparked by Hindu fundamentalists' attempts to replace a mosque with a temple to the god Rama.

New agencies and officials reported that at least 31 people died across the country on Thursday. They were killed in battles between Hindus and Muslims, or when police fired on mobs, or when victims died in hospitals of injuries suffered in earlier riots. At least 210 people have died since Oct. 24, when the fighting began.

Most of the deaths Thursday were in Uttar Pradesh, the state where the disputed shrine is located, and in Gujarat. Both states have a history of sectarian clashes.

### Correction

Because of an editing error, a Washington Post dispatch from Beirut misstated a detail in the shooting death of Fares Mukheiber, a Lebanese Christian deaf-mute, who was killed by Syrian soldiers on Oct. 13. After he was shot, Mr. Mukheiber drove himself to the doctor but died later from his wounds.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

Air New Zealand, to fight financial trouble, plans to dismiss more employees and raise its fares 15 percent on international and domestic flights, the carrier said Thursday. The latest job losses follow 600 dismissals earlier this year, when the airline quit its Fokker Friendship domestic flights. (AP)

## WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW			HIGH	LOW	
Amsterdam	C 13	F 15	W 16	Bangkok	C 33	F 35	W 36
Antwerp	C 13	F 15	W 16	Beijing	C 18	F 20	W 21
Berlin	C 13	F 15	W 16	Bombay	C 30	F 32	W 33
Birmingham	C 12	F 14	W 15	Calcutta	C 27	F 29	W 30
Boston	C 11	F 13	W 14	Chengdu	C 16	F 18	W 19
Brexit	C 10	F 12	W 13	Chongqing	C 15	F 17	W 18
Buenos Aires	C 14	F 16	W 17	Guangzhou	C 20	F 22	W 23
Cardiff	C 13	F 15	W 16	Hong Kong	C 25	F 27	W 28
Cairo	C 20	F 22	W 23	Kobe	C 18	F 20	W 21
Canton	C 19	F 21	W 22	London	C 12	F 14	W 15
Cebu	C 28	F 30	W 31	Los Angeles	C 18	F 20	W 21
Chongqing	C 16	F 18	W 19	Madrid	C 15	F 17	W 18
Cincinnati	C 11	F 13	W 14	Moscow	C 10	F 12	W 13
Cleveland	C 10	F 12	W 13	Osaka	C 17	F 19	W 20
Columbus	C 11	F 13	W 14	Shanghai	C 19	F 21	W 22
Dallas	C 12	F 14	W 15	Singapore	C 31	F 33	W 34
Denver	C 13	F 15	W 16	Taipei	C 24	F 26	W 27
Detroit	C 12	F 14	W 15	Tokyo	C 18	F 20	W 21
Fort Worth	C 13	F 15	W 16				
Frankfurt	C 13	F 15	W 16	AFRICA			
Geneva	C 13	F 15	W 16	Algiers	C 25	F 27	W 28
Hamburg	C 13	F 15	W 16	Cairo Town	C 22	F 24	W 25
Helsinki	C 13	F 15	W 16	Cape Town	C 22	F 24	W 25
London	C 12	F 14	W 15	Harare	C 20	F 22	W 23
Los Angeles	C 18	F 20	W 21	Harare	C 20	F 22	W 23
Madrid	C 15	F 17	W 18	Maputo	C 20	F 22	W 23
Moscow	C 10	F 12	W 13	Timb	C 20	F 22	W 23
New York	C 18	F 20	W 21				
Osaka	C 17	F 19	W 20	LATIN AMERICA			
Shanghai	C 19	F 21	W 22	Buenos Aires	C 20	F 22	W 23
Singapore	C 31	F 33	W 34	Lima	C 20	F 22	W 23
Taipei	C 24	F 26	W 27	Medio City	C 20	F 22	W 23
Tokyo	C 18	F 20	W 21	Rio de Janeiro	C 20	F 22	W 23
				NORTH AMERICA			
				Akron	C 30	F 32	W 33
Amsterdam	C 13	F 15	W 16	Albany	C 30	F 32	W 33
Antwerp	C 13	F 15	W 16	Bethesda	C 30	F 32	W 33
Berlin	C 13	F 15	W 16	Chicago	C 30	F 32	W 33
Birmingham	C 12	F 14	W 15	Cincinnati	C 30	F 32	W 33
Boston	C 11	F 13	W 14	Detroit	C 30	F 32	W 33
Brexit	C 10	F 12	W 13	Frankfurt	C 30	F 32	W 33
Buenos Aires	C 14	F 16	W 17	Geneva	C 30	F 32	W 33
Cardiff	C 13	F 15	W 16	Los Angeles	C 30	F 32	W 33
Cairo	C 20	F 22	W 23	Madison	C 30	F 32	W 33
Canton	C 19	F 21	W 22	Manitowish	C 30	F 32	W 33
Cebu	C 28	F 30	W 31	Memphis	C 30	F 32	W 33
Chongqing	C 16	F 18	W 19	Montreal	C 30	F 32	W 33
Cincinnati	C 11	F 13	W 14	New York	C 30	F 32	W 33
Cleveland	C 10	F 12	W 13	Pennsylvania	C 30	F 32	W 33
Columbus	C 11	F 13	W 14	San Francisco	C 30	F 32	W 33
Dallas	C 12	F 14	W 15	Seattle	C 30	F 32	W 33
Denver	C 13	F 15	W 16	Toronto	C 30	F 32	W 33
Detroit	C 12	F 14	W 15				
Fort Worth	C 13	F 15	W 16				
Frankfurt	C 13	F 15	W 16				
Geneva	C 13	F 15	W 16				
Hamburg	C 13	F 15	W 16				
Helsinki	C 13	F 15	W 16				
London	C 12	F 14	W 15				
Los Angeles	C 18	F 20	W 21				
Madrid	C 15	F 17	W 18				
Moscow	C 10	F 12	W 13				
New York	C 18	F 20	W 21				
Osaka	C 17	F 19	W 20				
Shanghai	C 19	F 21	W 22				
Singapore	C 31	F 33	W 34				
Taipei	C 24	F 26	W 27				
Tokyo	C 18	F 20	W 21				



# In the Massachusetts Race for Governor, Political Outrage vs. Quiet Geniality

By Fox Butterfield

New York Times Service

BOSTON — In this state where voters seem implacably angry, John R. Silber is the prophet of the politics of rage.

Once again, Tuesday night, the Democratic candidate for governor had his Republican opponent, William F. Weld, on the defensive, pounding away in their last debate.

And once again, Mr. Weld seemed unable to seize the openings before him, to turn some of the Democrat's sometimes intemperate comments against him.

With six days until the election, the race is generally regarded as being neck and neck, with Mr. Silber perhaps having the edge.

In a poll published Tuesday in The Boston Globe, Mr. Silber led Mr. Weld, a former U.S. attorney, 46 percent to 37 percent.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that Mr. Silber's support could be even greater than the polls are showing.

In the primary election, surveys underestimated his strength, in part, some poll experts believe, because he cuts such an abrasive figure

that people do not want to admit to poll takers that they will vote for him.

But whatever the polls show, there is no mistaking the response to Mr. Silber. He is the No. 1 topic. His I'm-fed-up-with-business-as-usual theme strikes home in a state whose current governor, Michael S. Dukakis, is widely blamed for an economic decline and state budget crisis.

Voters seem to see Mr. Silber, who is on leave as president of Boston University, as the Democrat who is not a Democrat, the politician who is not a politician. Mr. Silber has portrayed himself as an angry crusader for leaner, meaner government.

"In a normal year when voters are angry they would throw out the party in power, the Democrats, and Weld would win," said George Bachrach, a former Democratic state senator.

"But John Silber's anger matches that of the voters so well that he has made a visceral connection with them that transcends normal politics."

"It doesn't seem to matter what Mr. Silber says or who he offends," Mr. Bachrach added. Still, Mr. Silber has alienated a number of

voters in groups that make up major parts of the Democratic Party — liberals, environmentalists, feminists, blacks and homosexuals — with remarks that in other years might have sunk his candidacy. Democrats outnumber Republicans in Massachusetts by about 4 to 1.

His latest "Silber shocker," as his comments have come to be called, occurred last week when he said that "overweening materialism" on the part of two-career couples who put their offspring in child-care centers may constitute "child neglect."

"There is no question that we have a generation of neglected children," he said on television. "We have a generation of abused children by women who have thought that a third-rate day care center was just as good as a first-rate home."

Lin F. Kelleher, 33, a real estate broker from the Boston suburb of Arlington, reacted with outrage. "I'm a Democrat, but I'm voting for Weld," said Mrs. Kelleher, who has two children. "I think it is mainly just that Silber comes across looking like a maniac. He basically feels the woman's place is in the home."

But despite Mr. Silber's remarks, he led Mr.

Weld by 10 points among women in the Globe poll.

Part of the explanation is that neither Mr. Silber nor Mr. Weld fits into easy ideological categories, with both men blurring the usual lines dividing liberal, moderate and conservative.

Despite Mr. Silber's comments on subjects like welfare mothers and black drug dealers that make him seem conservative, for example, many of his other positions are liberal.

He opposes the death penalty, he favors strict gun control and he advocates an ambitious program of preschool education to help working parents.

Mr. Weld, on the other hand, with a genial personality and easy sense of humor, often comes across to voters as moderate. His service as an assistant attorney general in the Reagan administration is offset by his strong support for abortion rights and the environment.

But he has come out against control of semiautomatic rifles, and he early on tied himself to a tax-cutting ballot measure sponsored by a conservative group, the Citizens for Limited Taxation.

Mr. Silber has never held or run for public office before. Mr. Weld ran for state attorney general in 1978 and was badly defeated.

In the absence of clear philosophical differences between the two candidates, it has been the tax-reduction referendum that has become the main issue in the race.

The initiative would roll back state taxes and fees to their 1988 level, forcing the next governor to cut roughly \$1.2 billion out of the \$13 billion budget in the first six months of next year and \$2.4 billion more in 1992.

Initially, Mr. Weld seemed to be on the popular side of the debate, with polls after the primary election in September showing both the initiative and Mr. Weld in the lead.

But as the Massachusetts economy has continued to decline, with unemployment doubling in the past year to more than 6 percent, voters began to become anxious about the effects of such deep cuts on a broad range of state programs and services.

Mr. Weld's attacks on Mr. Silber, by contrast, seem unable to do damage. He has pointed out that Mr. Silber managed to become a millionaire while president of Boston University.

technically a public charity, earning more than \$275,000 from the school last year.

That made him by far the highest-paid university president in the country. His overall income was \$572,600 in 1988, according to figures released by the Silber campaign.

Mr. Silber has said that he made his money in an entirely legal fashion and that he is proud of high salary because it reflects his accomplishments at the University.

Mr. Weld has also challenged Mr. Silber on why he did not file his 1989 federal tax returns by Oct. 15, the deadline required by law. But even after a spokesman for the Internal Revenue Service said Mr. Silber was in error, he has continued to insist on his correctness in delaying the filing of his returns.

## ■ Boston Globe Backs Weld

The Boston Globe endorsed Mr. Weld on Wednesday, saying he had the "disposition and character" to face the state's economic and fiscal problems. The Associated Press reported. The Globe said in an editorial that Mr. Weld and Mr. Silber were evenly matched on some scores but gave Mr. Weld the edge saving his leadership style was more likely to get results.

## Congress Moves to Control Secret Military Funding

By Robert Pear

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — When Congress passed the 1991 military spending bill last week, it imposed little-noticed but significant new restrictions on the president's power to spend billions of dollars on classified programs.

While public attention focused on spending for the Strategic Defense Initiative and the B-2 bomber, legislators and administration officials were struggling over a section of the bill that requires the administration to use money earmarked for secret programs precisely as Congress prescribes.

At stake is control over a "black budget" of more than \$35 billion hidden in the military spending bill for numerous secret weapons programs and intelligence activities.

To provide money for such programs while keeping the amounts secret, Congress every year buries the funds in the military budget. Outsiders who have scrutinized the air force budget, for example, say more than \$3 billion is hidden away for the National

Reconnaissance Office, which is responsible for developing, launching and controlling spy satellites.

In the past, Congress has attached classified reports to military appropriations, saying how this secret money should be spent. But the administration has treated the instructions in these classified "annexes" as mere expressions of congressional wishes rather than law.

Lawmakers said there were several major disputes this year over the administration's refusal to comply with secret directives from congressional committees on appropriations, armed services and intelligence.

For example, they said, the Defense Department refused to spend millions of dollars appropriated by Congress for strategic communications and reconnaissance programs, and flouted congressional instructions on the SR-71 Blackbird spy plane. And the CIA challenged congressional restrictions on spending for certain covert foreign operations.

President George Bush, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and at least one air force gener-

al told Congress that they were not required to comply with such directives, because the restrictions were not in the statute itself and therefore did not have the force of law.

But just before it adjourned, Congress, in adopting new restrictions on the use of federal money for clandestine military and intelligence programs, also said the restrictions "shall have the force and effect of law."

When Mr. Bush signs the bill, the restrictions will be legally binding on federal employees, and Congress can monitor compliance through committees that oversee the Pentagon and the intelligence agencies.

The Pentagon is not happy with this new arrangement. In an Oct. 18 letter, Terrence O'Donnell, general counsel of the Defense Department, complained that Congress was enacting "secret law without debate, comment and consultation."

Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, a Democrat who is chairman of the Appropriations Committee, said the restrictions had been incorporated into the spending bill for the first time to ensure that the will of

Congress would be obeyed when the administration spent "tens of billions of dollars" for foreign intelligence and military programs.

The administration "ignored or challenged" such restrictions when they were in reports, said Mr. Byrd. A zealous defender of congressional prerogatives, lawmakers say that when it disregards Congress's wishes, the administration typically postpones decisions on how to spend the money instead, then redirects spending to other secret programs.

A new book on the government's secret spending, "Blank Check: The Pentagon's Black Budget," by Tim Weiner, says the classified budget for weapons and foreign intelligence came to \$36 billion in 1989. That is more than the budget of the departments of Transportation, Education, Labor or Veterans Affairs.

The new statutory restrictions are another chapter in the annals of secret law, which date to 1811, when President James Madison covertly signed two bills giving him money and authority to seize Florida from Spain.



BE MY GUEST — John Munn carrying the neck of Saddam Hussein, alias Ruben Lazano, in a Falls Church, Virginia, store. Masks of the Iraqi leader were popular for Halloween this year.

## U.S. Prisons Find Harsh Measures Make for Less Violence by Inmates

By David Johnston

New York Times Service

FOLSOM, California — After the killing of a guard at Folsom Prison in 1987, the warden ordered all furniture removed from the cells. In the violence control unit, the "isolated" prison within a prison, that is reserved for inmates who are considered a threat to the prison.

The beds in the cells were replaced with concrete slabs, and the electrical outlets were sealed. Some inmates were forced to wear leg irons and handcuffs while they exercised in the prison yard.

These and other harsh measures are how the subject of inmate lawsuits, but they apparently served their purpose.

Assaults at Folsom dropped 70 percent in four years, from 6.9 per 100 inmates, in 1985, to 1.9, in 1989.

Despite a steep rise in the nation's prison population in the 1980s, stories like Folsom's are being repeated all over the country.

Prison officials, emboldened by a public mood that brooks no patience for criminals, say they have

gained greater control of their institutions.

Inmate killings have fallen sharply. And although the assault rate has risen, the increase has not been as rapid as experts had expected. In several states, including California, the rate has declined.

Prison officials credit stricter policies, better design of space, tighter controls and better training for guards.

"The people who run prisons are saying, 'We're not going to take this hell from inmates anymore,'" said Anthony P. Trivisono, executive director of the American Correctional Association, which represents prison workers.

Critics warn that greater isolation and harsher treatment of inmates could backfire when the convicts are released.

"After you've kept someone in that setting, they have been socialized in dangerous ways by the time they're released and try to cope in society," said JoAnne Page, executive director of the Forrester Society, an advocacy group in New York for former inmates.

The decline in prison killings has confounded many experts' expectations that overcrowding would fuel violence.

"Many of us in the field are really puzzled by what's happened," said Thomas A. Johnson, chairman of the Criminal Justice Department at the University of California at Sacramento. "In part, we're finding that the movement of inmates is now being more controlled than it was some years ago."

Some critics argue that relative lack of violence in prisons indicates that many inmates are not violent and do not belong in prison.

But Robert Becker, a New York Law School professor who has studied prison behavior, said the situation reflected a more ominous change among young lawbreakers.

"Strange as it sounds to say," he said, "kids on the street aren't fighting enough. There is very little proving of toughness and manhood through physical fighting. That was the traditional way to settle a beef. Now it's with guns."

"There are very few guns in prison. And these kids don't fight, they're less inclined to make a shank and stab someone, which involves fighting. So stabbings in penitentiaries are down." A shank is a homemade knife.

"It's an irony," he added, "that as the streets get less safe, the prisons get safer."

From 1984 to 1988, when the number of inmates in state and federal prisons rose 35 percent, the number of inmates killed by other inmates fell from 111 to 61, according to the correctional association.

The rate of assaults by inmates on prison staff members rose 53 percent in the same period, less than experts had expected.

As at many other prisons around the country, officials at Folsom have taken steps to break the hierarchy of gangs, which once virtually ruled the institution.

When Robert G. Borg became warden in 1985, he moved gang leaders to isolated cells and banned all gang insignia inside the prison.

After the killing of the guard, he ordered the crackdown in Folsom's violence control unit.

Metal detectors have been installed in some prisons in Texas, where the number of homicides in penitentiaries fell from 25, in 1984, to 1, in 1989.

In some states, declines in the rate of assaults have been attributed to new prison designs, which have eliminated blind spots.

By Philip Shenon

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Four years after the government imposed tough rules to limit the amount of lead in drinking water, federal auditors warn that hundreds of thousands of U.S. children may still be drinking lead-contaminated water at school.

The auditors said in a report completed last month that state agencies and the Environmental Protection Agency were failing to enforce laws requiring school districts to test water for dangerous levels of lead.

The laws were imposed after it was determined that some coolers and fountains could taint drinking water with lead.

The school districts in the survey conducted limited testing, if any, of their water and did not follow federal testing standards.

"Our findings confirm that harmful amounts of lead exist in the drinking water provided by schools," the auditors said. "We believe that both EPA and the states must be more aggressive in eliminating the health hazards imposed by lead in drinking water."

Even in trace amounts, lead can do severe damage to the kidneys, brain and circulatory system.

Children and pregnant women are at greatest risk. Lead is a toxin that, in relatively low dosages, is particularly harmful to the developing brain and nervous system, causing serious and largely irreversible damage in youngsters.

Fences and children under 7 are particularly vulnerable because, with small body mass, they ingest and absorb more lead per pound than adults.

The environmental agency has estimated that each year more than 250,000 U.S. children are exposed to lead in drinking water at levels high enough to impair their intellectual and physical development.

The audit comes as state and federal officials are being questioned about their failure to enforce laws intended to remove lead-

based paint from federally subsidized housing.

Four years ago Congress adopted measures intended to reduce lead contamination in drinking water, including a nearly total ban on lead materials in new plumbing and a requirement that water suppliers notify customers about lead levels.

In 1988 lawmakers approved the Lead Contamination Control Act, which is directed at removing lead

from water in public and private schools.

The act required state and federal agencies to set guidelines and assist schools in testing their drinking water and banned the interstate sale of water coolers that release dangerous levels of lead.

Under terms of the act, all faulty water coolers should have been repaired or removed from the nation's schools by February 1990. But, the auditors said, "We found

that states were not complying with these requirements."

The government has set the maximum contamination level for lead in drinking water at 50 parts per billion.

But documents issued by the environmental agency to assist schools set the limit at a lower level — 20 parts per billion — and the agency has formally proposed that the level should eventually be set at zero.

## N.Y. Daily News Keeps Publishing Despite Strike

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The Daily News, digging in for a long war of attrition with its unions, has won over more striking newsroom employees, including four sportswriters who crossed picket lines.

With the latest defections Wednesday from the weeklong strike — all involving members of the paper's largest union, the Newspaper Guild — almost half of the News' 25 sportswriters and all but one of its 30 unionized photographers have gone back to work.

Their decision to return means that the 71-year-old Daily News may be able to return to a semblance of its former self. Since the bitter strike erupted, its pages have been filled with news agency copy and articles prepared by an overworked staff of management supervisors and out-of-state editors.

Management found itself struggling harder than ever Wednesday to find outlets for the paper and to hold on to increasingly jittery advertisers.

INTERNATIONAL  
eralead Trib  
Published With The New York Times and The New York Times  
Printed in New York

## HEADING FOR NORTH AMERICA?

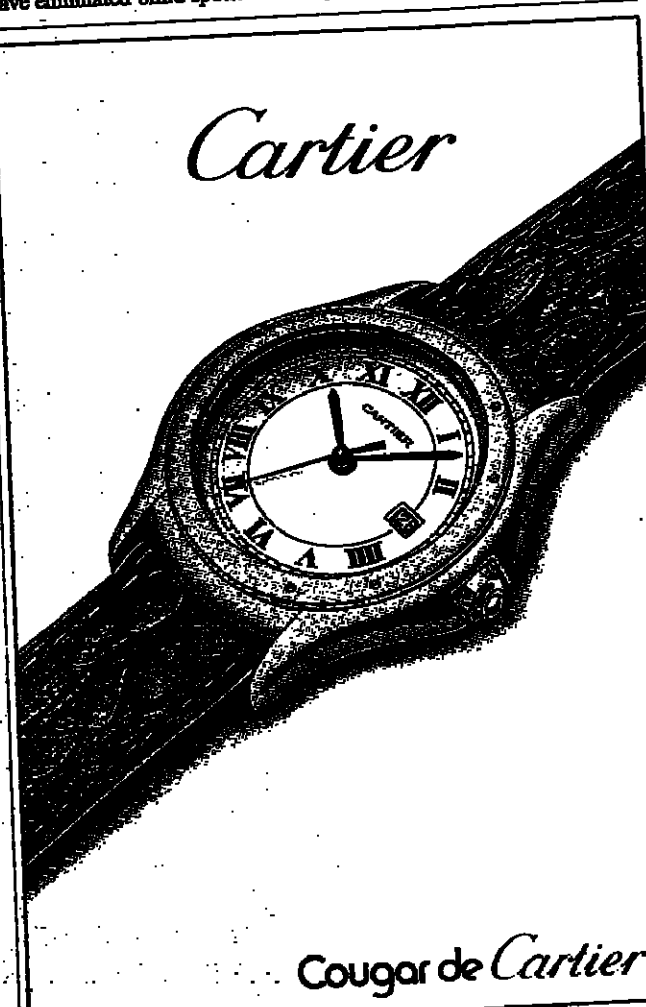
You Can Now Receive Same-Day Delivery of The Global Newspaper in Key American Cities.

To subscribe call us toll-free in the U.S. 1-800-882-2884.

(In New York, call 212/752-3891.)

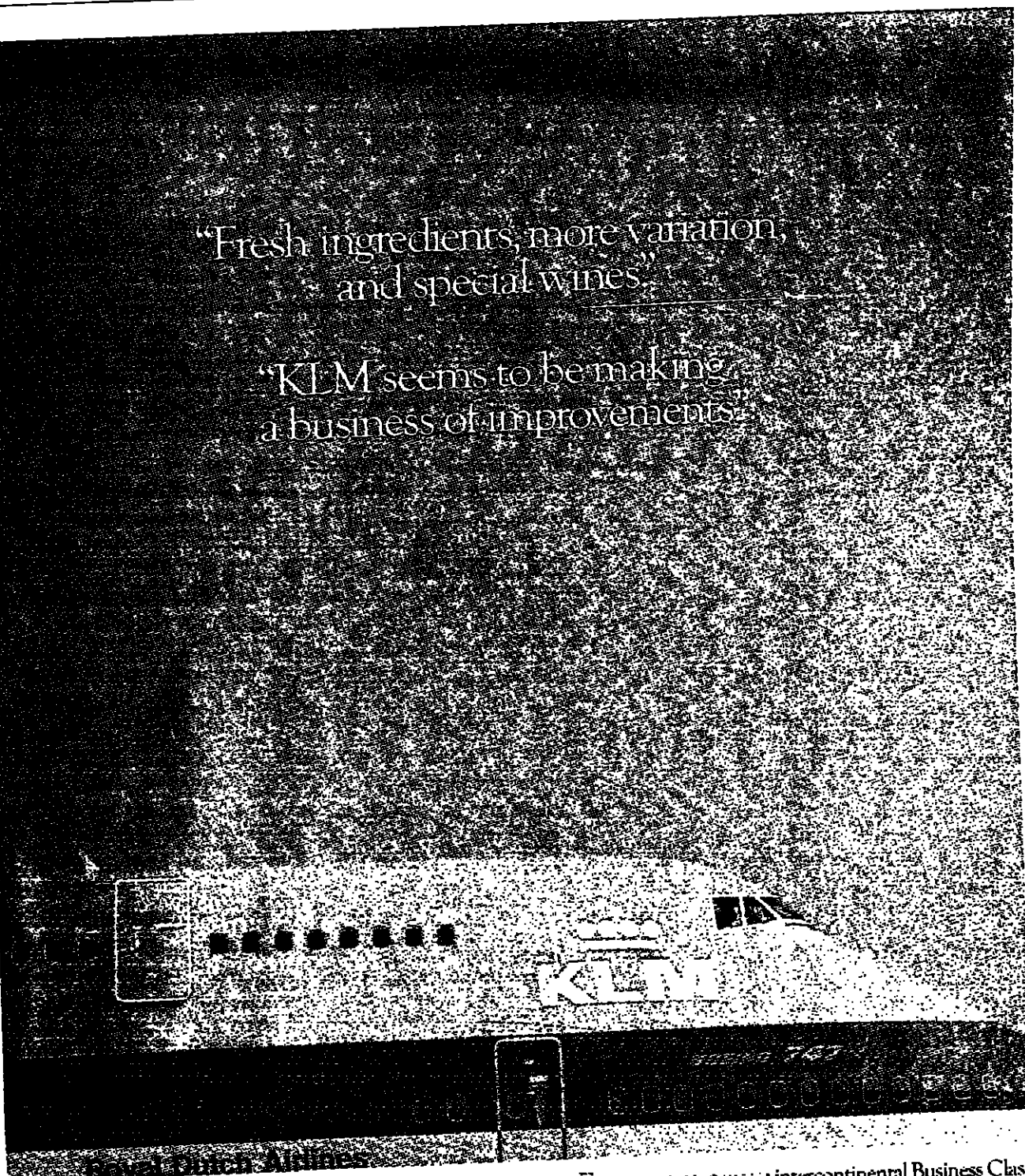
Or write: International Herald Tribune, 650 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022.

Or Telex: 427175, Or Fax: 212-752-8785.



PARIS : 13, RUE DE LA PAIX - 33 (1) 42 61 58 56  
LONDON : 175/176, NEW BOND STREET - 44 (71) 493 69 62  
NEW YORK : 653, FIFTH AVENUE - 1 (212) 753 01 11  
GENÈVE : 35, RUE DU RHONE - 41 (22) 21 80 66  
MILANO : VIA MONTENAPOLEONE - 39 (2) 76 00 16 10

AND ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY CARTIER STORES IN MAJOR CITIES WORLDWIDE.



KLM's much acclaimed Business Class is being improved yet again to keep pace with our passengers' higher level of expectations.

New: a wider choice of meals and finer wines in intercontinental Business Class. Each course served individually. And featuring the freshest of seasonal ingredients.

New: finer place-settings and fresh, hot rolls on all Business Class flights. And the wider comfort of KLM's new European Business Class seats.

Even more new: intercontinental Business Class passengers are now offered a refreshing comfort pack.

Video monitors on most of our B747s. The highly respected ITN news broadcast. Electronic headphones. We have doubled the music programmes. Moreover all our B747s now offer a Stretched Upper Deck, exclusively for our Business Class travellers. In fact, you can expect a lot of good news from KLM as we continue to meet your expectations.

Test us, try us, fly us.

The Reliable Airline KLM

Royal Dutch Airlines



# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Deepen the Alliance

The split developing between the Soviet and French approaches to the Iraq crisis and the American approach would be less unsettling if it seemed more the product of design. There is a case for used-car-lot diplomacy, one "salesman" playing the soft touch and the other the tough guy. Unless some subtle maneuver has eluded us, however, that does not seem to be the situation here.

While President George Bush is firmly insisting that Iraq's contempt for United Nations resolutions could yet lead to war, President Mikhail Gorbachev is saying that it is "unacceptable to have a military solution." To Washington, Saddam Hussein is a match for Hitler, but to Moscow and Paris he is a worthy partner in a settlement. These differences seem less nuances contrived for diplomatic effect than embarrasments emerging among countries formally pledged to face the crisis as allies.

The person most alert to these strains is Saddam Hussein. He is strewing hints of a policy change across the diplomatic landscape. His evident purpose is to shed the role of aggressor and be accepted as a moderate struggling to save the region from an obsessed and dangerous George Bush. To the Soviets and French, he apparently has offered to release his thousands of hostages if the two governments will make a public

commitment to a peaceful solution. Such a commitment would, of course, crack the Security Council consensus on which the UN enforcement of Saddam Hussein rests.

Especially at a moment when Mr. Bush's domestic frustrations are in plain view, there is not much point in his going around declaring that a war option still exists. The effort puts a burden of policy justification on him when that burden had better be left on Saddam Hussein. The message of military readiness is more reliably sent by the stationing of allied forces and the dispatch of reinforcements. In the United Nations resolutions—a new one on reparations was adopted this week—the United States already has a broad, right, necessary and agreed platform for an allied (not just an American) political settlement.

That Saddam Hussein is testing to see whether he can split the alliance and whittle down the UN terms does not mean he is going to get away with it. Washington will not stand nervous and bewildered while this form of bargaining goes on. It should be deepening its consultations to draw the allies toward a common position on when and how Iraq's defiance will leave no choice but force. That is the best way to make allied diplomacy work.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Broaden the Debate

President Bush is clearly seeking ways to put new pressure on Saddam Hussein. But he is floundering. He wants Iraq that he is prepared to attack, and snails at misreading of American hostilities. In the next breath, he tells Congress that U.S. troops in the Gulf are in no imminent danger of war. He cannot have it both ways and still send a credible message.

There is a better way: Invite Congress to debate the question of what happens if his present strategy of economic sanctions and military buildup fails to move Iraq. Mr. Bush has been reluctant to do that. Instead he hints at going to war on his own authority. He misses a chance to rally Americans behind his strategy and truly show Iraq that America intends to stay the course.

Why debate the possibility of war at all, especially if such a debate reveals serious disagreements, and thus risk increasing Saddam Hussein's intransigence? One reason is that for the president not to take the people into his confidence now invites re-remuneration later if war occurs and casualties mount. And the other side of the coin is even more urgent. To move Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait without a war, Mr. Bush needs both economic sanctions and a credible threat of war. To make it credible, he has to convince Iraq the American people back him all the way.

Some people suggest one way to begin the discussion would be for either Mr. Bush or Congress to invoke the War Powers Act. The act allows the president to dispatch troops abroad but requires that they be withdrawn within 60 days unless Congress

votes for them to remain. Mr. Bush has shied away from invoking the act, contending U.S. troops are in no imminent danger of hostilities. Closing its eyes, Congress accepted his claim, and then authorized him to call up reserves for 360 days without declaring a state of emergency.

Mr. Bush seems intent on going it alone. "History is replete with examples where the president has taken action," he said.

He'd do well to reflect further on precedents. For example, Harry Truman, fearing a partisan debate over Korea, avoided Congress and went to the United Nations instead. That cost him popular support. Lyndon Johnson, instead of debating his Vietnam strategy openly, escalated by stealth. That undid his presidency. And Richard Nixon made war on Cambodia without telling Congress. That alienated even some of his own partisans.

Presidents pay when they do not come clean with Congress. And there are other ways for Mr. Bush to do so short of the War Powers Act or a declaration of war. Congress could recover after the election the next Tuesday and hold hearings on his Gulf strategy. And the president could seek a joint resolution endorsing that strategy.

Mr. Bush and Congress have a duty to discuss and explain the circumstances under which they might take America to war, their reasons for doing so and the ends for which the war would be waged. The better the explanation of the policy, the more the public will support it. The more the public supports it, the less likely war becomes.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Wrangling Over Crime

To get a crime bill acceptable to the entire Congress, House and Senate negotiators struck a last-minute deal that scrapped many high-profile provisions. Out went death penalty proposals dear to the Bush administration. Out also went measures the administration strongly opposed, notably the Racial Justice Act, a measure to combat race bias in capital punishment.

What is left is a modestly useful law that includes tougher measures against child abuse and white-collar crime, including fraud by officers of savings and loan institutions. It also provides for federal aid to local law enforcement. But Attorney General Dick Thornburgh is incensed. Dropping the death penalty expansion, he says, is "welcome news only to violent criminals."

Mr. Thornburgh says he cannot understand "why some on Capitol Hill have such difficulty in passing a crime bill which is pro-law enforcement instead of pro-crime." What temperate language for the highest-ranking lawyer in the executive branch—and what odd priorities.

Where is the lament for failing to disarm those who traffic in assault weapons? Law enforcement officers across the country sought a broad ban on both imported and domestic assault weapons, but the administration lined up instead with the gun lobby. That would put the administration, if one

accepts Mr. Thornburgh's Machiavellian outlook, on the "pro-crime" side.

The administration wanted to add 32 crimes to the federal offenses punishable by death. Contrary to all canons of local responsibility, one would have been any drug-related homicide, thus federalizing hundreds of crimes that have always been state or local in nature. The bill would have denied hundreds of sentences in federal court and would have eliminated previous safeguards for adequate defense counsel in capital cases.

The racial justice measure drew the most vehement opposition. It would have allowed defendants facing the death penalty to raise an inference of racial discrimination in a state's or county's administration of the death penalty—an inference the prosecution could overcome with evidence that law enforcement was racially neutral.

The White House threatened to veto the entire crime bill, with all its pro-execution ideas, if it contained that small safeguard against racially slanted capital punishment. Just as adamantly, House and Senate members insisted no crime bill so heavily loaded for death would pass without a modicum of racial justice and safety from assault weapons. Instead of the attorney general's sour denunciation, they deserve respect.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Comment

### Aquino's Debt to the People

Corazon Aquino must know she is now widely seen as a disappointment. But she is not a prime minister and even if she were, resigning is not compatible with the institution of presidency. The next election is in May 1992. So she is stuck in office (until then). And Philippines—short of throwing in their lot with the next competitor—are stuck with her.

What Mrs. Aquino owes the people who stared down President Ferdinand Marcos's tanks and put her in the palace is a year and half of accelerated action. She should identify specific problems and work toward solving them. The country is in too much of a

mess for her to go after the big issues. At this late stage, she will have to leave them to her successor, one of the eight or nine strong, confident men waiting impatiently for 1992: land reform, the energy crisis, the population explosion, insurgency, indiscipline in the military, restoration of business confidence.

But Mrs. Aquino could attack confidence. She could give back a bureaucracy swollen 50 percent since Mr. Marcos fled. She could trim the budget, three times what it was. She could cut red tape, tackle appalling urban services. The Philippines neighbors hope that Mrs. Aquino will concentrate now on readying the nation for economic takeoff and social stability. If her fiercest critics have their wish about them, they will help her.

—Asiaweek (Hong Kong).

## INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

JOHN HAY WHITNEY, Chairman 1938-1982

KATHARINE GRAHAM, ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER Co-Chairmen

LEE W. HUBNER, Publisher

JOHN VINOCUR, Executive Editor; WALTER WELLS, News Editor; SAMUEL ABT, KATHERINE KNORR and CHARLES MITCHELL, Deputy Editors; CARL DEWITZ, Associate Editor; ROBERT J. DONAHUE, Editor of the Editorial Pages; REGINALD DALE, Economics and Financial Editor

RENÉ BONDY, Deputy Publisher; RICHARD H. MORGAN, Associate Publisher; FRANCIS DESMAISON, Associate Director; JUANITA L. CASPARI, Advertising Sales Director; ROBERT FARRÉ, Circulation Director, Europe; KOURID HOSSEIN, Director, Information Systems

International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. Tel. (1) 46.37.93.00. Telex Advertising: 613959; Circulation: 612832; Editorial: 612718; Production: 630698.

Director of the publication: Richard D. Simmons

Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Canvey Rd., Singapore (01). Tel 473-7762. Telex RS56923 Ming. Dir. Asia, Rolf D. Knappe, 10 Gloucester Rd., Hong Kong, Tel. 8610616. Telex 61170 Ming. Dir. U.K., Gary Thomas, 65 Long Acre, London WC2E. Tel. 836-4802. Telex 263009 Gen. Mgr. Germany: W. Lauerbach, Friedrichstr. 13, 10000 Frankfurt 13, Tel. (069) 726733. Telex 47173 Pres. U.S.: Michael Green, 850 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022. Tel. (212) 725-3800. Telex 47173 S.A. au capital de 1,500,000 F. RCS Nanterre B 732021126. Commission Paritaire No. 61337.

© 1990, International Herald Tribune. All rights reserved. ISSN: 0394-8052.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1990

## For China and Syria, The Agenda Is Clear

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — "Will democracy emerge by itself at the end of a natural and necessary evolution? Certainly not. On the way toward democracy, the smallest victory will cost a terrible price. Let us have no illusions: Democracy will be reached only after bloody sacrifices."

These prophetic words about China landed Wei Jingsheng behind bars 12 years ago. He is still imprisoned in Beijing for telling the truth in a wall poster and criticizing the elderly tyrants who run the Communist Party. Describing democracy as the essential "modernization" needed by Chinese society, Mr. Wei's historic postcard foretold the demands of the protesters in Tiananmen Square and the genocidal response in June 1989.

Now in prison with Mr. Wei are Wang Dan, Liu Xiaobo and thousands of other of his spiritual offspring who made the Tiananmen protest. Their cause, once the center of international concern and action, has been pushed off television screens and newspaper pages in the West by the Gulf crisis.

China's patriotic dissidents risk becoming casualties of the diplomacy of the Gulf crisis. The man who put them in prison, Prime Minister Li Peng, bargains China's support for the anti-Iraq coalition in return for international acceptability for his blood-stained regime. Mr. Li has been able to consolidate his once tenuous hold on power by making China seem not to be the international pariah his critics claim.

The democracies of the West are in danger of letting the urgent need to halt Saddam Hussein's human-rights abuses in Kuwait create political windfalls for other notorious tyrannies in the world. The United States and its European allies need to act to dispel the spreading impression that key partners in the coalition against Iraq, such as Morocco and Turkey, can expect a free ride on human-rights abuses at home in return for support for human rights in Kuwait.

China and Syria provide the clearest, most important cases of nations trying to climb out of their own holes on the backs of the Kuwaitis. Both have been the target of international sanctions for their misdeeds. Both hope to get those sanctions lifted by joining the campaign against Iraq.

"We told the Chinese that there are two kinds of sanctions—those that get imposed and those that get lifted," a Western diplomat in Beijing told an American visitor recently. "They got the message."

The hidden agendas of Beijing and Damascus are scarcely hidden at all. And that may turn out to be the saving grace for Western democracies in this dilemma. Trade-offs should be manageable as long as the limits of cooperation are kept clearly in mind and hidden agendas do not become more important than the campaign to get Iraq out of Kuwait.

The United States should not fall into the trap of believing the actions of China and Syria show that these two leopards are changing their totalitarian spots. Cooperation in the Gulf is a

## OPINION



"Thank goodness you're here, Dr. Assad, to help me control this monster I made!"

useful tool, not an act of salvation that transforms a regime's nature.

The decision by the European Community's foreign ministers meeting in Luxembourg to resume high-level contacts with the Chinese helped produce China's UN vote this week for the ninth Security Council resolution condemning Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.

But spokesmen for the Community, which was following in the footsteps of the Bush administration's secret diplomatic missions to Beijing, also stressed that the ban on military sales to China would remain in place as long as the stain of Tiananmen clings to China's leadership. By expressing Western gratitude for China's cooperation on Iraq and the continuing Western condemnation

of China's refusal to grant its citizens political freedoms and to heal the wounds of Tiananmen, the Community created a useful model for Western statements on China's new international role.

The same restraint is needed with Syria. President Hafez Assad has his own reasons for wanting to see Saddam Hussein fail in Kuwait. And Mr. Assad is shrewd enough to recognize that the collapse of Soviet global ambitions means that Syria's room for maneuver against U.S. policies in the Middle East is greatly reduced.

President George Bush expressed the wish in an Aug. 7 meeting with the Syrian ambassador here "to turn a new page" in relations. But without significant changes in Syria's attitude toward its own citizens and neighbors,

Washington will not be able to build a stable relationship with Damascus.

"You do not want to make an alliance with Assad," a French diplomat recently advised an American official. "He will do things to you that you are not prepared to do to him."

The Bush administration has to begin thinking now about the problems that success in the Gulf could bring. Illusions about the usefulness of one tyrant (Saddam Hussein) helped create the current mess. Forcing Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait can and must be accomplished without sacrificing Wei Jingsheng, Wang Dan and others who have fought for freedom in their homelands.

They and their cause must be part of the new international order.

—The Washington Post.

## Cambodia: From the Depths of Despair, Talk of a 'Red Solution'

By James Pringle

O KOKI, Cambodia — The people tottering back from a government-sponsored rally in this resettlement camp near mountains southwest of Phnom Penh carried placards, some in English. One of them read, "Long live the glorious state of Cambodia."

The rally was in support of the policies of the Phnom Penh government in negotiations with the Khmer Rouge and two non-Communist guerrillas groups that have banded together to fight the regime installed by Vietnamese forces in 1979. But the inhabitants of O Koki, who had been removed by the government from an area of increased Khmer Rouge activity, were in no state to be attending any kind of rally. They were weak and hungry.

The slogan in English on the placard seemed to mock them: There is nothing glorious about a country on its knees, exhausted by war.

The Khmer Rouge have not changed. They have been entering villages to demand rice at gunpoint, and at times shooting people who refused to hand it over. They also launched a new attack on a train, the third this year, killing 50 people.

The two main Communist antagonists in Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge and the Phnom Penh regime (80 percent of whose senior leaders are former Khmer Rouge), are building up

for a new military trial of strength in the dry season which is about to begin.

Vietnam, which announced in September 1989 that it had withdrawn the last of its forces from Cambodia, has increased the number of military advisers and specialists remaining in the country to help meet anticipated Khmer Rouge attacks.

The guerrillas will try to seize more territory, perhaps a provincial capital. But although the Khmer Rouge are reported to have received 20 aging tanks from China some time ago, they are not strong enough to attack Phnom Penh or take over the country.

The Khmer Rouge is continuing what it does best: laying mines and spreading propaganda among the poorest Cambodian peasants.

The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council — the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France — may think that they are making progress toward peace in Cambodia, but things look pretty much the same on the ground as they did months ago.

In Phnom Penh, hardline Marxist conservatives under Chea Sim, chairman of the National Assembly, have elbowed into the

driving seat. They have pushed aside Hun Sen, the prime minister, and other reformers. The Phnom Penh regime is against dissension, using itself in any way and giving the United Nations a strong role in any peace settlement.

For a correspondent who covered the war in Vietnam, there is a sense at O Koki of history repeating itself. The population is forcibly removed by the government so that it does not provide food and arms for the enemy. In effect, O Koki is a South Vietnamese strategic hamlet, around which the Khmer Rouge are probing.

People here have to attend rallies and cheer the government. But since they have had to abandon their rice fields and draft animals, they do not have enough to eat. As in the past, those who live in the countryside are bearing an unequal share of the burden of war while corruption is rife in the capital.

It is all so familiar that it is no wonder the Cambodian population, traditionally optimistic, is in the depths of the despair.

"I don't know when peace will come," said a 20-year-old girl in a country market far from Phnom Penh. "Every time they talk about peace, there is more fighting."

Now a new fear has come to haunt Cambodia. There is talk in Phnom Penh about a possible "Red solution": Vietnam and China getting together again to solve the Cambodian conflict. Such a solution would see the two warring halves of the old Cambodian Communist Party — those in the Khmer Rouge and those in Phnom Penh — being forced to cooperate by their mentors in Beijing and Hanoi.

The leaders of China and Vietnam, profoundly shocked by the disappearance of communism in much of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, met recently to discuss terms for repairing a once-close relationship that was ruptured when Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia in 1978.

Some Phnom Penh officials say privately that such a "Red solution" would be unworkable, that their regime would never be forced into a deal with the Khmer Rouge under whose rule millions of Cambodians died.

But hard-line Marxists are now in control in Phnom Penh as well as Hanoi and Beijing. For them, the idea of saving Cambodia for communism may be appealing.

The writer, a former correspondent for Reuters and Newswatch in Asia, contributed this column to the International Herald Tribune.

## Isolate the Khartoum Regime and Close Down the Killing Fields

By Roger Winter and John Prendergast

WASHINGTON — Three things come from the sky for the people of war-torn southern Sudan: rain, bombs and — decreasingly — food. While the rain has not come for a year, the bombs come almost weekly in some places. And now, tragically, the erratic food line is being diminished by Western governments' understandable anger by the Sudanese government's alliance with Saddam Hussein and reported diversion of Western food to Iraq.

Since 1988, as many as a half-million new graves have been dug quietly in Sudan. Replacing the Cambodia of the 1970s and Ethiopia of the 1980s, Sudan now clearly hosts

the world's most lethal killing fields.

This did not have to happen, and it doesn't have to continue. In order to avoid massive loss of human life, Western governments will have to employ flexible, more creative approaches than they have so far. Sudanese civilians despite the obstacles the government imposes.

Successful Sudanese governments, until recently, have been important strategic allies for the United States. However, the current Islamic fundamentalist military regime in its year and a half in power has set new

standards for aberrant action. It has regularly bombed civilian targets in its war against the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army; detained more political prisoners than any other country in Africa during the past year; banned all political parties, newspapers, unions and professional associations; cut off food to civilians in many areas; robbed women of most of their rights; and shown no interest in ending the civil war.

Nevertheless, the U.S. State Department until recently had cozied up to Khartoum, just as it did with Iraq before its invasion of Kuwait, despite

both countries' extraordinary human rights violations. The department continued to assist the Sudanese government through multilateral institutions. But now that Sudan is supporting Saddam Hussein, the State Department has become harshly critical of the Khartoum regime. One State Department official called it the Khmer Rouge of Africa.

Better late than never. But now, even though drought layered upon civil war has placed up to 11 million people at risk of starvation in Sudan, some Western governments are not responding appropriately to the humanitarian crisis. Some are actually reducing humanitarian aid. This response is indefensible.

The economic pressure caused by the U.S.-orchestrated worldwide embargo against Iraq is the linchpin of the international strategy against Saddam Hussein, as it has been against apartheid in South Africa. These same measures should now be implemented against Khartoum.

The United States and other Western governments that have continued to support the Sudanese government through the World Bank, UN development assistance, the African Development Bank and a variety of trade agreements should just say no.

Working through the Security Council, a complete embargo on trade and nonhumanitarian aid should be imposed to change the brutal behavior of General Omar Hassan Ahmad Bashir against the Sudanese people and to recreate a comprehensive, humanitarian relief and rehabilitation operation.

But what about the people whose

rapidly dwindling food stocks continue to be politically manipulated? Practical steps need to be taken now. Since 1987, there have existed alternative routes for food, medicine and other rehabilitation supplies originating in Kenya and Uganda. The United Nations helped expand these routes through Operation Lifeline Sudan.

Western governments and the United Nations have an obligation now to massively expand the carrying capacity of these routes and to extend them further into Sudan. New routes from other contiguous countries should be opened. The relief network — consisting of the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association, the relief arm of the Sudanese rebels; the New Sudan Council of Churches, and the many nongovernmental organizations operating throughout rebel territory in the south — needs to be strengthened.

Western governments should continue to negotiate with the Sudanese government for windows of opportunity to get food directly to affected communities and to re-establish some kind of basic agreement for the equitable delivery of food to civilians in both the government and rebel-held areas.

The top priorities of U.S. foreign policy should be to isolate the current regime, to get food to all people where they are and to support local initiatives for self-reliance to protect people from the worst ravages of this merciless civil war.

Roger Winter is director of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, and John Prendergast is a research associate of the Center of Concern. They contributed this to The Washington Post.

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1890: Toddlers and Kings

PARIS — Holland is now to be added to the list of European Kingdoms with Monarchs who do not reign. The small King of Serbia, the baby King of Spain, and the little girl who is to be Queen of Holland will be for some years to come under tutors and governors, while the mad King of Bavaria will remain to the end of his days a prisoner in his palace. There is no reason to fear the formal recognition of the fact that King William III is incapable of ruling will have any disturbing effect in Holland. His incapacity has been for a long time notorious.

### 1915: Day of the Dead

PARIS — Perhaps never before in its history has Paris faced its annual occasion devoted to the memory of its dead with so great emotion as this autumn. After a year and a quarter of the most devastating war in history there remains scarcely a family that directly or indirectly has not already

paid its contribution to the human cost of the conflict.

### 1940: 13 Ships Are Sunk

BERLIN — German dive-bombers, screaming down on three British convoys off the shores of Great Britain today, sank thirteen ships, including one cruiser, totaling 47,000 tons and damaged badly nine others, aggregating 36,000 tons. D.N.B., the German official news agency, said tonight (Nov. 1). The Nazi attacks occurred, the agency said, as the convoys approached harbors on the southeast coast. One attack it said, was in the mouth of the Thames River. Near Great Yarmouth, D.N.B. declared, a lone Heinkel bomber sank a protecting cruiser and three freighters out of a convoy. Stuka dive-bombers, the agency had reported earlier, in an attack off Sheerness, south of the Thames Estuary.

— From the New York edition of the New York Herald Tribune.



OPINION

# The Way to Beat the Iraqi: A Second Front in Turkey

By William Safire

WASHINGTON—What European member of NATO has the largest standing army? What NATO nation borders on Iraq?

The answer to both: Turkey. That nation of 55 million people has armed forces, including gendarmes, of 750,000; Iraq, by contrast, has a population base of 13 million, not counting its persecuted Kurds, and an army of 350,000 (three-fourths now in Kuwait) with reserves of another half-million.

Saddam Hussein, contemplating the next phase of his war against the world, is willing to gamble that he could endure bombardment from the air. And he hopes to bog down the combined Western-Arab armies moving up from the south into Kuwait—at least long enough to let cities of compromise rise in the West.

But what if there were a second front? That's what defeated Adolf Hitler, Turkey lies to the north, its fighting men proud of their reputation for being what Douglas MacArthur in Korea called "the bravest of the brave."

The Turks, with 15 percent of their forces now on Iraq's border, have not been friendly to Saddam Hussein. When the world looked away, Turkey took in 100,000 Kurdish refugees from Iraqi poison-gas attacks.

Turkey was the first nation in the region to denounce the invasion of Kuwait, the first to support UN sanctions and the first to make the blockade count by shutting down Iraq's oil pipeline.

When Secretary of State James Baker travels to the region next week (why do we send a professional deal-maker on a mission to avoid cutting a deal?) his most important stop will be in Ankara.

President Turgut Ozal has already welcomed U.S. F-111 bombers and F-16

fighters to his Incecik Air Base; as the frontline state in the world squeeze on Iraq, he expects reimbursement from the Saudi-Kuwaiti war chest of \$7 billion for one year's loss of trade.

Turkey deserves that, as well as consideration of Mr. Ozal's request, made in the White House last month, for financing and sale of 120 F-16s to give some punch to Turkey's antiquated air force.

That lack of sophisticated weaponry—many of its tanks are Korean War vintage—has caused some U.S. strategists to disparage Turkey's capacity to become a second front.

They say Mr. Ozal is not too popular at home and claim that Turkish generals—who do not control him—are wary of displaying technological weakness in combat. This overlooks Turkish concern with having a messianic nuclear aggressor to its south. It completely misses what the historian Thomas Kuhn called a "paradigm shift" in explaining the force of scientific change.

When the model of perception shifts, amazing inventive changes take place all along the line. Turkey's paradigm was the "bulwark blocking access to the Mediterranean by the Soviet Black Sea fleet," and its border with the Soviet Union made it a frontline state in any attack on NATO by the Warsaw Pact. After the fall of the shah of Iran, it became our intelligence window on the East.

That concept of Turkey's role bought it a ticket to Western defenses and markets, even though Europeans treated Turks with cultural scorn.

But the old model of Turkey's place in the world is obviously crumbling. Turkish workers are being kicked out of Germany and Bulgaria; the European Community is closing its doors. What's to replace the old paradigm? With the Russians not coming, who needs the Turks?

Their future is in their other front line: not the one bordering the impulsive Soviet Union and Asia Minor, but the one bordering explosive Iraq and the Middle East. Turkey is Muslim but secular, a developing democracy with women emancipated; a market economy, and a friend to both Palestinians and Israelis.

Despite its improvident unity with Greece, Turkey could be a bridge between West and Middle East. That's where the world will need the Turks.

In this new light, rethink the military possibilities. With allied aircraft using Turkey's airfields to provide tactical support, Turkish infantrymen driving on Baghdad would be more than a match for the divided Iraqi Army, with its most modern elements trapped in Kuwait.

When the war began on Aug. 2 is over, new boundaries will be drawn, as usual, to penalize the aggressor. Oil reserves should be shared among an independent Kurdistan, a helpful Turkey, a free Iraq and those nations that sacrificed most.

The New York Times

# The Shadows of Fear Grow Long

By Abraham Rabinovich

JERUSALEM—In the 20 years during which he has employed Palestinians in his Jerusalem garage, Uri Samar never doubted the possibility of coexistence. Until last week.

"It's the first time I feared there might be no solution," said the 48-year-old Israeli. "The chasm between us is growing wider, not narrower."

Attacks by Palestinian workers with knives and hammers upon Israelis after the Oct. 8 killing by police of Arabs on Jerusalem's Temple Mount has made Mr. Samar re-evaluate his basic optimism that in the end Jews and Arabs will find a way to live together.

Mr. Samar, who employs seven Arabs from East Jerusalem and two Jews, is a model for coexistence. "I've raised all the men here. I've set the norms for work and for personal relationships. The Arab workmen have had me and my wife and children to their homes for meals and to their weddings. They have been to my children's circumcisions and bar mitzvahs. We are family."

"There is no distinction here between Jew and Muslim and Christian and they know it. If a new Arab workman isn't trustworthy—even if he just puts on the radio in a car he's working on, which is something I don't permit—it isn't just me who doesn't want him to stay. The other Arab workers don't want him. The other garage owners around here marvel that I leave my men without supervision. But what weight does this kind of relationship

have in the face of all these events?"

One of his men prays regularly on the Temple Mount, Mr. Samar said. "He's been through a number of unpleasant incidents but they never shook his faith that things can work out between us." But after the Temple Mount shootings, the workman was stunned.

His feelings were further aggravated when he was stopped by police during

**MEANWHILE**

The ensuing security crackdown while walking with his family. A policeman told him to "grab that pillar and hug it so it doesn't move" while being frisked. It was the presence of his children that made the moment humiliating.

The workman said to Mr. Samar: "I used to say when these things happened that there were good people and bad people. Now I don't know."

Mr. Samar himself has no doubt that there are good people and bad people but he is no longer certain it makes enough of a difference.

"You have to be steel to withstand these incidents. It's hard for me to believe that people are made of steel. Not Jews or Arabs. When I see people like that workman who always believed in coexistence having doubts, I begin to wonder myself."

Mr. Samar was born in Tel Aviv to

parents who came from Iraq and he speaks fluent Arabic. In the last elections he voted for a centrist party.

Does he despair of coexistence? "If I despaired, I would have fired all my Arab employees and begun anew with Soviet immigrants."

Nevertheless, he acknowledged a new perception of the Jewish-Arab conflict, a perception that good will and trust might not be enough.

"Ethnic mixing doesn't seem to work anywhere. Look at the Basques in Spain, the North Africans in Marseilles, the Slavs and Croats in Yugoslavia."

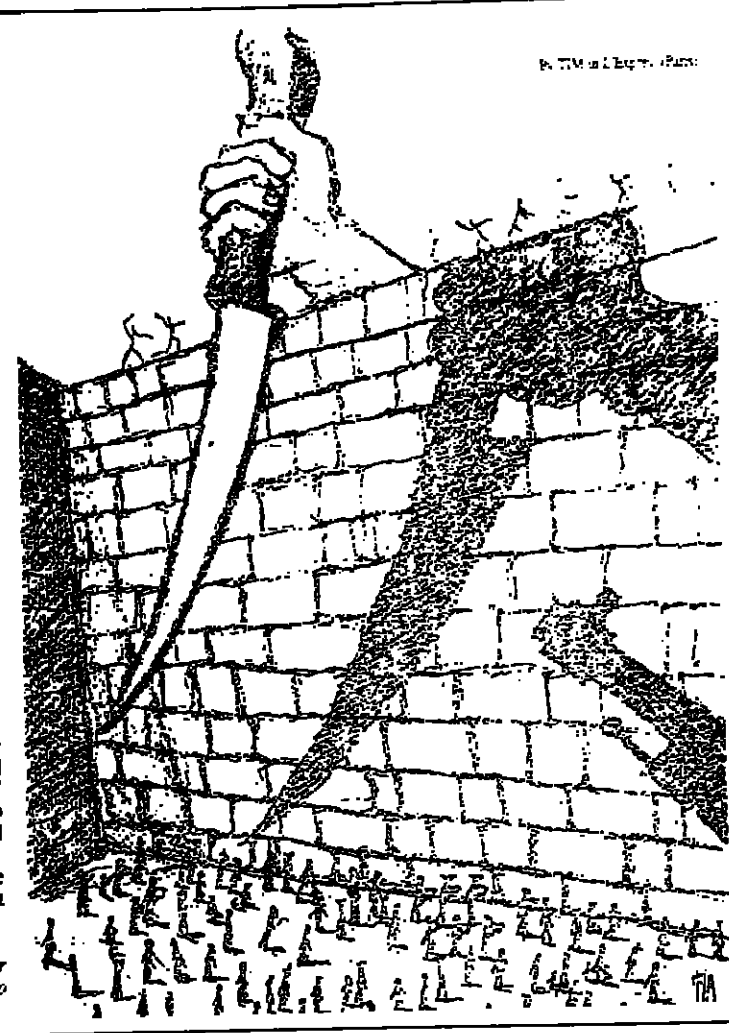
His own solution would be the "Palestinization" of Jordan by the replacement of King Hussein with a Palestinian leadership and its merging with the West Bank. This entity, whether a Palestinian state or confederation, would have its own flag. Israel would keep a security presence on the Jordan River.

"We would live side by side in mutual respect but without mixing. I would like to see passage across the border limited—not free entry. They would live with their honor and we with ours."

What if his Arab workmen choose to live in the Palestinian entity and could no longer work for him?

"That would be a price I would have to pay," he said. For Uri Samar that price would be a high one.

Mr. Rabinovich, a feature writer for the Jerusalem Post, contributed this to the International Herald Tribune.



## A Valued U.S. Ally

THANKS TO SADDAM Hussein, Turkey is once more a coveted and valued Washington ally. But genuinely good relations with Ankara depend on the realization that Turkey's importance goes far beyond the Gulf crisis.

Turkey's value in enforcing sanctions, and its potential weight in any military conflict with Iraq are important, but long after Saddam Hussein has gone, Turkey will remain an important factor on the international scene.

The gap between the Islamic, Christian countries north of the Mediterranean and the poor Muslim countries along its southern shores is one of the great fault lines in world politics today.

Turkey, with all its problems, remains the one country in the region which is actively striving to close the gap.

Walter Russell Mead, the author of "The Moral Splinter: The American Empire in Transition," writing in the Los Angeles Times

But the old model of Turkey's place in the world is obviously crumbling. Turkish workers are being kicked out of Germany and Bulgaria; the European Community is closing its doors. What's to replace the old paradigm? With the Russians not coming, who needs the Turks?

Their future is in their other front line: not the one bordering the impulsive Soviet Union and Asia Minor, but the one bordering explosive Iraq and the Middle East. Turkey is Muslim but secular, a developing democracy with women emancipated; a market economy, and a friend to both Palestinians and Israelis.

Despite its improvident unity with Greece, Turkey could be a bridge between West and Middle East. That's where the world will need the Turks.

In this new light, rethink the military possibilities. With allied aircraft using Turkey's airfields to provide tactical support, Turkish infantrymen driving on Baghdad would be more than a match for the divided Iraqi Army, with its most modern elements trapped in Kuwait.

When the war began on Aug. 2 is over, new boundaries will be drawn, as usual, to penalize the aggressor. Oil reserves should be shared among an independent Kurdistan, a helpful Turkey, a free Iraq and those nations that sacrificed most.

The New York Times

## What Sanctions Can Do

Should the Gulf crisis end in war, economic sanctions will once again be condemned as ineffective and even counterproductive, all the more because the sanctions against Iraq are the most comprehensive the world has seen, almost completely isolating it from world markets. The UN Security Council has surprised even itself in its ability to carry out and direct the sanctions effort. Yet if these sanctions fail against Iraq, it will be argued that they won't work anywhere else either.

Such a response to an outbreak of fighting would be wrong. First, economic sanctions have proved to be a remarkable rallying point for the world community, permitting the emergence of a broad-ranging consensus condemning Iraq's attempt to dominate the Middle East.

Second, economic sanctions have clarified the interests and intentions of the antagonists in a way that diplomatic wrangling could not. They have forced Saddam Hussein to reveal his hand.

Finally, sanctions play an extremely important but seldom recognized dual role on the path to a possible war with Iraq. On the one hand, sanctions may enable us to avoid war altogether by peacefully coercing Iraq into withdraw-

ing from Kuwait. Indeed, avoiding war through economic pressure is the traditionally recognized reason for sanctions.

However, less recognized but equally important is the role sanctions play in the prelude to war. Victory in modern war depends not only upon battlefield prowess but also upon industrial production and trade. Ammunition, food, replacement weapons and spare parts are all necessities for fielding a modern army. No prudent foreign policy would ever allow Saddam Hussein to import and stockpile these items right up to the day that fighting breaks out. By depriving him of these items now, sanctions minimize his ability to pursue a protracted conflict and reduce his chances of victory.

DAVID M. ROWE, Bonn.

## Why Condemn an Ally?

As American citizens residing in Israel are dismayed and disappointed by the U.S. government's spearheading a very unfair and unbalanced United Nations condemnation of Israel concerning the unfortunate and tragic events of Oct. 8 on the Temple Mount.

We call upon the United States to recognize the obvious: that Israel is still in a state of war with all her neighbors

except Egypt; that there is still an Arab uprising taking place aimed at killing Israelis or driving them off the land. Under these circumstances an expression of U.S. concern about the Temple Mount events would have been understandable. But taking a leading role in condemnation is a naive attempt by the United States to keep its newly found, ephemeral friends in the Middle East at the expense of its closest ally. This can only encourage those who wish ill to both Israel and the United States.

DAVID FROELICH, Tel Aviv.

## A City Must Be Livable

Regarding "If Paris Can Function, Why Not New York?" (Opinion, Oct. 29) by Flora Lewis:

When friends and relatives back home keep asking why I insist on living in Paris rather than in New York or Boston, I find myself rambling on about its "quality of life." I rejoice in the city, its culture, beauty, as well as in its bread—which unfortunately has added a few unwanted pounds.

Not that Paris doesn't have its own very real problems. But at least here I

can walk home from dinner or a movie and feel secure. The thought of living in a combat zone, which unfortunately is the reality in most American cities, holds no appeal.

KAREN FAWCETT, Paris.

## In Defense of Mitropoulos

In his obituary of Leonard Bernstein (Oct. 16) Donald Henahan contends that when Bernstein became musical director of the New York Philharmonic in 1959, "the orchestra's quality had gone downhill, its repertoire had stagnated and audiences had fallen off."

I don't know where Mr. Henahan was around 1959. I was in the audience at Carnegie Hall for scores of concerts. I didn't see many empty seats, nor did anyone hear an orchestra that had gone downhill in quality. Whether under Dimitri Mitropoulos, who was Bernstein's predecessor, or under guest conductors like Bruno Walter, Fritz Reiner and Bernstein himself, the orchestra played a huge repertoire with such major soloists as Myra Hess, Josef Szigeti, Arthur Schnabel, Robert and Gaby Casadesu and countless others, none of whom would have accepted engagements with an orchestra on the skids.

DONALD ARTHUR, Munich.

Mitropoulos also programmed new or little-known works, which paved the way for their entry or reintroduction into the standard repertoire. His regular subscription concerts included performances of operas that the theaters of the day were afraid to touch—Alban Berg's "Wozzeck" and Richard Strauss's "Elektra"—are just two examples. So much for a stagnant repertoire.

Mitropoulos also acted as mentor to numerous younger colleagues, including Leonard Bernstein, who often stated that his conducting career would not even have happened without Mitropoulos's urging.

DONALD ARTHUR, Munich.

## For All but Expatriates

Regarding "Shutdown Looms as Budget Battle Shifts to the Senate" (Oct. 18, first edition only):

This report says that "Medicare provides health insurance for elderly and disabled Americans." In the interests of accuracy, statements like this should be followed by the proviso: "unless they are located overseas."

ALBERT L. HILLIARD, Graz, Austria.

# Business Prospects in Turkey, The Eastern Mediterranean & The Black Sea

ISTANBUL, NOVEMBER 13 - 14, 1990

NOVEMBER 13		NOVEMBER 14	
09.15	OPENING KEYNOTE ADDRESS HE Gunay Tamer, Minister of State, Turkey	09.00	BANKING AND FINANCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN REGION Joseph G. Fogg III, Managing Director & Head of Investment Banking, Morgan Stanley & Co., New York Claude de Kemoularis, Chairman, Banque Paribas Nederland, Member of the International Committee, Banque Paribas, and Former Ambassador of France to UN, Paris Dr. Ercan Kumcu, Vice Governor, Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey
10.00	GEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK FOR THE REGION The Rt Hon Dr David Owen MP, Former Foreign Secretary and Former Leader of the SDP, UK	11.30	Coffee
10.40	Coffee	12.00	TURKEY AND THE NEW EUROPE Tamer Isik, Head, EC Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey Eberhardt Rhein, Director, Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, European Commission
11.00	FUTURE DEFENSE STRATEGIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN Stephen Hadley, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, Washington, DC	13.00	Lunch TURKEY: AN EMERGING REGIONAL ECONOMIC SUPERPOWER Dr. Richard Perle, Assistant Fellow, American Enterprise Institute, Former US Resident Secretary of Defense, Washington DC
11.40	TURKEY: THE SOUTHERN GATE OF EUROPE HE Ahmet Kurbane Altinok, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Turkey Cem Boyner, President, TUSIAD, Istanbul Prof Dr Serif Mardin, Bogazici University, Istanbul	15.00	BUSINESS PROSPECTS IN THE CHANGING EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN MARKET Moderator: Prof Dr Zafar Basak, Executive Director, Turk Ekonomi Bankasi, Istanbul Panelists will include: Uzayir Garth, Chief Executive Officer, Alarko Group of Companies, Istanbul Danielle G. Ruffin, Vice President - Ventures, Fiat Auto SpA, Turin
13.15	Lunch THE CHARACTER OF A GREATER EUROPE Anthony Sampson, Journalist and International Writer, London	16.30	VALENTINE REMARKS HE Isin Celebi, Minister of State, Turkey
15.15	INVESTMENT OUTLOOK FOR TURKEY, THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN & THE BLACK SEA Dr Wolfgang Albert, Chairman, Consortium for Turkey, OECD, Paris Osmun Uenal, Head, Foreign Investment Department, State Planning Organization, Turkey		
15.15	INDUSTRIAL MODERNIZATION AND REGIONAL COOPERATION John Marcum, President, European Institute of Technology, Verona		
16.45	DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR HER NEIGHBORS Vahit Hefetoglu, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Turkey Gromovskiy Vladimirovich, Chief Advisor of the Reform Fund, Moscow		
20.00	Cocktails and Dinner		

**TURK EKONOMI BANKASI**  
**Herald Tribune**

**REGISTRATION INFORMATION:** The fee for the conference is £350. This includes lunches, the dinner on Tuesday, November 13 and all conference documentation. Fees are payable in advance. We regret that there can be no refund for cancellations received after October 29. Substitutions can be made at any time. Simultaneous English/Turkish translation will be available throughout the conference.

**CONFERENCE LOCATION:** The conference will be held at the Hilton International Hotel, Cumhuriyet Caddesi, 80200 Harbiye - Istanbul.

**HOTEL ACCOMMODATION:** A limited number of rooms are available at preferred rates at the Hilton International Hotel. Please contact Ms. Faza Pehlivan on Tel: (90 1) 131 4650. Fax: (90 1) 140 4165.

**REGISTRATION FORM:** To register, please complete and return this form to Jane Blackmore, Conference Office, International Herald Tribune, 63 Long Ave., London WC2E 9JH, England. Tel (44 71) 379 4302 Fax: (44 71) 836 0717.

Conference fee £350.

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Please Invoice

Title (Mr. Mrs. Ms. Dr.) \_\_\_\_\_ First Name \_\_\_\_\_

Surname \_\_\_\_\_

Position \_\_\_\_\_

Company \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_ 2-11-90

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

# SUBSCRIBE TODAY AT UP TO 50% SAVINGS!

## IT'S QUICK.

Get better acquainted with the International Herald Tribune (IHT) with our special introductory offer for new subscribers. And as an added bonus, you'll receive up to 52 free issues for subscriptions of six months or more. Just refer to the chart and call the appropriate telephone number for your country. Tell the operator at Phone Service Europe you want to subscribe to the IHT and indicate the term you prefer. Pay conveniently by credit card. Or request an invoice for six and 12-month subscriptions. It's never been faster (with our new telephone numbers)

or more economical (with tremendous savings) to subscribe. Call today to start your IHT subscription for home or office delivery.

## IT'S EASY.

If you're on the go and don't have time to call, just complete the coupon below to start your subscription to the IHT. It's never been easier. Pay by check or credit card. Don't delay. Return the coupon now to start your subscription to the IHT at up to 50% savings.

Country/Currency	TELEPHONE NUMBER	12 months (+ 52 free issues)	ONE-YEAR SAVINGS (+ 26 free issues)	6 months (+ 13 free issues)	3 months (+ 7 free issues)
Austria A.S.	0222/6766.33455	5,100	3,272	2,800	1,500
Belgium B.F.	02/271.6204	5,400	2,972	3,000	1,600
Denmark D.K.	00946/8.835643	11,000	7,200	6,000	3,200
Finland F.F.	09046/8.835643	3,100	1,268	1,700	750
France F.F.	06/437.437	2,000	1,216	1,100	495
Germany G.D.M.	013.02525	1,600	1,312	980	485
Greece G.D.M.	01/51.29005	600	415	330	182
Great Britain G.D.	0800/700600	780	361	399	204
Ireland I.R.	01/51.29005	120	105	82	45
Italy I.T.	02/3.271.0304	40,000	32,800	22,000	12,000
Japan J.P.	055/212229	50,000	22,800	28,000	15,500
Netherlands N.L.	020/611.0304	155	118	252,000	138,000
Portugal P.	021/212229	450,000	350,800	6,000	3,300
Spain S.P.	055/212229	11,000	7,200	3,400	1,850
Sweden S.K.	08/835643	2,200	1,808	1,400	776
Switzerland S.F.	046/055757	3,000	1,368	1,650	910
Turkey T.L.	0634/1.5551085	31,000	20,900	17,000	9,300
USA A.S.	91/5551085	35,000	25,000	15,200	10,800
West of Europe, N. Africa, form. French Africa, Middle East		38,000	27,000	20,900	11,500
Rest of Africa, Gulf States, Asia		51,480	—	25,740	12,870
Central/Latin America		2,200	1,440	1,210	665
		2,800	840	1,540	850
		500	446	275	150
		500	—	275	150
		600	—	355	195
		600	—	230	160

\* For information concerning special hand-delivery in major German cities call IHT Germany on (089) 49 4822 or fax (089) 49 4834. Rates do not include free issues.

\*\* At these rates, you can get morning hand delivery in the following cities: Oslo, Stavanger, Southampton, Gothenburg and Malmö.

\*\*\* At these rates, hand delivery is available by morning in Barcelona, the same day in Seville and Valencia and the next day in Bilbao. For Madrid, hand-delivery is available by morning, but without the free issues.

Yes, I want to start receiving the IHT. This is the subscription term I prefer (check appropriate boxes):

☐ 12 Months (364 issues in all with 52 bonus issues) ☐ 6 Months (182 issues in all with 26 bonus issues) ☐ 3 Months (91 issues in all with 13 bonus issues)

☐ My check is enclosed (payable to the International Herald Tribune).

☐ Please charge my: ☐ American Express ☐ Diners Club ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Eurocard ☐ Access

CARD ACCT. NO. \_\_\_\_\_ EXP. DATE \_\_\_\_\_ SIGNATURE \_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_ 2-11-90

CITY/CODE \_\_\_\_\_ FAX \_\_\_\_\_

Return your completed coupon to Subscription Manager, IHT, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France. The offer expires December 31, 1990, and is available to new subscribers only.



## ASIAN TOPICS

### Philippine Buffalo Is Bred in Captivity

Scientists have successfully bred the Philippines' vanishing national animal, the tamarau buffalo, for the first time in captivity, according to Manila press reports. The male calf, christened Jun Jun, was born Oct. 18 at a government breeding station in the tamarau's last refuge, Mindoro Island southwest of Manila.

The tamarau is smaller than the carabao, also known as the water buffalo, domesticated throughout Southeast Asia. The tamarau, a shy and wild animal that resists being tamed, is an official national symbol of the Philippines. Only 200 are known to exist, from 10,000 at the turn of the century, and they are threatened by poachers, logging

and development in Mindoro, whose beaches and rugged terrain have brought tourists. Scientists say they hope to establish a "fallback population" of tamaraus in another part of the country to guard against an epidemic that could wipe out the animals in Mindoro, according to the Daily Globe.

### Around Asia

Because of longer life expectancy and a birth-control policy that permits most families to have only one child, China's over-60 population has increased much faster than the general population. Now, support agreements between children and their elderly parents are starting to be required in some localities by officials attempting to protect the aged — a new phenomenon indeed in a country that for thousands of years prided itself on reverence for age.

Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto will be the only woman

in Pakistan's new legislature unless her mother returns from the United States. Miss Bhutto, whose party was defeated in elections last week, won a seat of her own, and her mother, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, was elected in absentia. But family sources say she is unlikely to return in the near future. Of the four women who won seats to the assembly in 1988 when Miss Bhutto came to power, none of the others was re-elected.

A hungry tiger put an end to an Indonesian jailbreak, chasing an escaped prisoner up a tree and besieging him for two days, the Antara news agency reported. When the tiger finally stalked off, the prisoner was so hungry himself that he knocked on the first door he found and begged for a meal. The off-duty policeman who answered the knock recognized the prisoner, fed him and returned him to his cell.

Arthur Higbee

# Iraq Says It Will Allow Holiday Visits to Hostages

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BAGHDAD — Iraq said Thursday it would allow Christmas visits by the families of hostages being held as human shields against possible attack from the U.S.-led force in the Gulf.

The Iraqi offer was immediately criticized by Western officials who repeated demands that all hostages be released, but some families in Britain said they would consider making the trip.

The official Iraqi press agency, INA, said the Foreign Ministry had instructed Iraqi embassies throughout the world to issue visas to the families of foreign nationals being held at industrial and military sites.

"The Foreign Ministry issued instructions to grant entry visas to Iraq to families of the foreigners hosted in Iraqi vital installations if they wanted to visit them on the occasion of Christmas and New Years," the agency said.

The move came a day after President George Bush said he had "had it" with Iraq's treatment of Ameri-

cans held captive by President Saddam Hussein, who refers to the foreign nationals as "guests."

The British Foreign Office in London condemned the Christmas trip offer as "disgraceful."

"This is a cynical propaganda move on the part of the Iraqis and our advice remains the same that, although we are very sympathetic, people should not go to Iraq," the Foreign Office said.

At the White House, Marlin Fitzwater, the president's press secretary, said it would be better if Mr. Hussein "let the hostages return home for Christmas, better yet Thanksgiving."

Iraq is believed to be holding about 4,000 Western and Japanese nationals. Of these, approximately 400 are being kept at strategic industrial and military sites.

Some relatives of British hostages said they would go to Iraq if they could.

"If my son is still in Iraq at Christmas, I shall take every opportunity of going to see him. And as this sad tale unfolds, it may well be that I go before then," said Donald Fathers of Oxford, who was interviewed by the BBC.

"We are considering it," Elizabeth Goddard of London, the mother of a hostage, told the BBC. "If Jonathan doesn't come home by Christmas, a couple of us might go out."

Meanwhile, Iraq said four more American hostages would be released "soon."

Latif Jasim, minister of information and culture, said in Baghdad that four elderly and sick hostages would be free to leave the country, but did not give their names or whereabouts.

In Copenhagen, the Danish Foreign Ministry said the 43 Danish nationals held hostage in Iraq turned down an offer by the International Committee of the Red

Cross to try to negotiate their release.

In Baghdad, U.S. officials released the text of letters from two Americans held at strategic sites. Officials asked that the hostages names not be used.

One of them said, "Tell my wife I love her and I have lost 35 pounds. We are getting no mail or messages at all."

"I have been in the Iraqi gulag system for almost two months. We are virtually prisoners in Iraq," the other letter said.

In Washington, officials said the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait is down to a three- to four-week supply of canned tuna and rice, and is running low on generator fuel to power

its only satellite telephone link with the United States.

The prospect that Ambassador W. Nathaniel Howell 3d, his deputy, Barbara K. Bodine, and 25 others might have to leave the embassy by late November led the Bush administration to push for a United Nations Security Council resolution, approved on Monday, demanding the humanitarian resupply of foreign embassies in Kuwait.

A White House official said that Mr. Bush, who charged Wednesday that Iraq was "starving" the embassy personnel in Kuwait, did not mean that the 27 people in the embassy were in danger of starvation. Mr. Bush was referring only to their "dwindling food supplies," the official said.

A State Department official said that there were "no serious health problems" among the embassy holdouts and that they have adequate supplies of water for drinking and bathing.

Britain's last two diplomats in Kuwait have enough food to hold out for another two months, the mother of one of them said Thursday.

"He said they are managing well and have food to last until the New Year," Jean Banks said after she received a letter from her son, Larry Banks, the British consul in Kuwait. "After that, I don't suppose they'll ever want to see another frankfurter for the rest of their lives." (UPI, AP, AFP, WP)

## UN Chief Urges Measures to Protect Palestinians in Israeli Territories

The Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The UN secretary-general called Thursday for new steps to protect Palestinians under Israeli occupation and reiterated a plea for Israeli cooperation in seeking protective measures under that accord.

The convention calls for the protection of civilians in time of war and in occupied lands; it prohibits mistreatment, deportations and collective punishment, among other acts.

The report was sought by the council after Israeli security forces killed at least 19 Palestinians on Temple Mount in Jerusalem on Oct. 8. Israel subsequently rejected a UN investigative mission.

Mr. Perez de Cuellar issued his report on the general situation in the territories from other information.

He said appeals to Israeli authorities on behalf of Palestinians from himself, the council, member states, the Red Cross and others had been "ineffective."

There was no immediate reaction to the report.

But earlier, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Arab states said they wanted to call a meeting

of the council to discuss steps to protect Palestinians.

The PLO and others argue that the council acted swiftly and decisively on sanctions against Iraq for occupying Kuwait and must act with equal resolve on Israeli occupation of Arab lands seized in 1967.

Palestinians, the secretary-general's report said, emphasized their distrust of Israeli occupation authorities.

"It had grown so deep that they felt that only an impartial presence properly mandated by the United Nations would be able to provide them with a credible sense of protection," Mr. Perez de Cuellar said.

He said the Palestinians suggested that military observers already stationed in Jerusalem, the UN Truce Supervision Organization, be assigned to monitor the territories.

Mr. Perez de Cuellar did not support or reject that suggestion.

He emphasized that despite the need for protection of Palestinians, the essential underlying problem "is a political conflict that lies at the heart of the tragic events."

## U.S. Seeks UN Backing To Channel Iraq Assets

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The Bush administration is preparing a Security Council resolution that would require governments to estimate from Iraqi assets to meet future compensation claims by victims of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, according to U.S. officials.

The officials said the resolution was one of a number of moves under consideration for making the economic embargo of Iraq as tight as possible.

Only then, they said, could the council decide whether United Nations economic sanctions alone are likely to force Iraq out of Kuwait, or whether force should also be considered.

Marjatta Rasi, the Finn who oversees the UN embargo, said that current sanctions were affecting Baghdad "every day more and more" and should bring its economy to a halt by midwinter.

"I understand that at the beginning of next year they will have serious problems," she said. "It's not only food. It's everything."

One of the Security Council's permanent members, China, announced Thursday that it had lost \$2 billion owing to the sanctions.

Western diplomats said there was no evidence that China, in the past a major arms supplier to Iraq, had made any shipments in violation of the ban on trade.

In Moscow, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Soviet Union, complying fully with the sanctions, was also suffering. Until the trade ban was imposed, Iraq paid off some of its debts to the Soviet Union with oil, which Moscow then re-exported to India and Bulgaria.

An Iraqi Airways plane carrying 15 tons of medical supplies left Switzerland for Baghdad on Thursday.

A Swiss Trade Ministry official said the cargo was worth 500,000 francs (\$385,000).

The Boeing 707 was loaded under supervision by Swiss customs officials and a UN observer to ensure that the cargo was not in violation of the embargo against Iraq.

Medicine, and food in certain instances, is exempt from international sanctions.

Switzerland has stressed that it has approved medical exports strictly for humanitarian reasons.

It said it will not bargain for the release of about 90 Swiss nationals held in Iraq. (NYT, Reuters, AP)

## BUSH: Not Beating War Drums

(Continued from page 1)

to clarify the nature of the Gulf confrontation.

"We have no quarrel with the Iraqi people," Mr. Bush said. "Our quarrel is with the dictator, Saddam Hussein."

Asked about his wife Barbara's comments that he would be willing to meet Mr. Hussein to resolve the crisis, Mr. Bush said his position at any such meeting would be "no condition, no negotiation — just leave Kuwait."

"There is no flexibility on our position. There is no compromise."

Mr. Bush said he could consider a meeting "if there was an agreement that he would totally withdraw and unconditionally comply with the UN sanctions. That's the only way it could be productive."

The news conference provided a measure of what was uppermost in Mr. Bush's mind. Most analysts said the congressional and state elections will turn on economic and local issues, rather than on public views of the Gulf situation. Still, Mr. Bush opened the session with a statement on his Gulf policy, and nearly every question tracked that subject.

The president has recently emphasized the plight of Americans and other foreigners held in Iraq and Iraq-occupied Kuwait, and he made clear on Thursday that he

thinks little of Iraq's offer to allow relatives from abroad to visit them over the Christmas holidays. He called it "a rather brutal toying with the emotions of the families, and said that those held in Iraq should be freed to come home."

(Reuters, AP)

## Germany Issues A Food Warning

Reuters

BERLIN — The German government warned Thursday that food in the east of the country may be "contaminated" with pesticides and trace metals, a legacy of Communist neglect of the environment.

"Toxic levels in food in former East Germany are alarming," Anton Pfeifer, state secretary in the Health Ministry, said. He said that scientists had found traces of toxic pesticides such as DDT in eggs and fish, and that leafy vegetables showed relatively high levels of the poisonous metals mercury and cadmium.

Mr. Pfeifer said his ministry would give the five new federal states in eastern Germany 3.2 million Deutsche marks (\$2.1 million) to collect reliable data on food and drinking water. He said exact statistics on the extent of the problem were not available.

## Britain's 'Sun' Blisters EC and Delors

LONDON (UPI) — The Sun newspaper, promoting a campaign against European unity, on Thursday published a two-page front-page illustration targeting the French-born chairman of the EC Commission, Jacques Delors. The tabloid's headline was "Up Yours Delors."

As well as printing risqué anti-French jokes and inviting readers to join a "Bawl at Gaul" protest on Friday, the Sun cited "centuries of Froggy Brit-baiting" and said that Britain was threatened by a Delors plan to integrate the European market and create a common currency.

There was no comment from the French Embassy in London, which was closed on Thursday, All Saints Day.

## Masked Refugees Battle Guards in Hong Kong

The Associated Press

HONG KONG — Masked Vietnamese refugees wielding homemade spears battled security personnel Thursday at a camp. Authorities said at least 16 people were injured, including three security officers.

The fight at the Whitehead Detention Center broke out in the early afternoon as corrections officers conducted a sweep for weapons, a government spokesman said. He said between 40 and 50 masked refugees were involved.

Tensions have been on the rise in Hong Kong's squalid camps for the thousands of Vietnamese who have fled their homeland by boat.

Dozens of refugees have gone on hunger strike opposing an agreement between Hong

Kong authorities and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The UN commissioner's representative in Hong Kong, Robert Van Loeuwen, said UN officials have gone to great lengths to convince the refugees that the United Nations has not agreed to forced repatriation.

About 54,000 refugees, who fled Vietnam, occupy hundreds of tin warehouses and cement cells in the camps.

Of them, 45,000 arrived after June 1988 when the British colonial government instituted a screening program to separate what it called legitimate political refugees from "economic migrants."

Under the screening process, those who are determined to be refugees will be allowed to stay and work in Hong Kong and await resettlement abroad, while the economic migrants will be sent home.

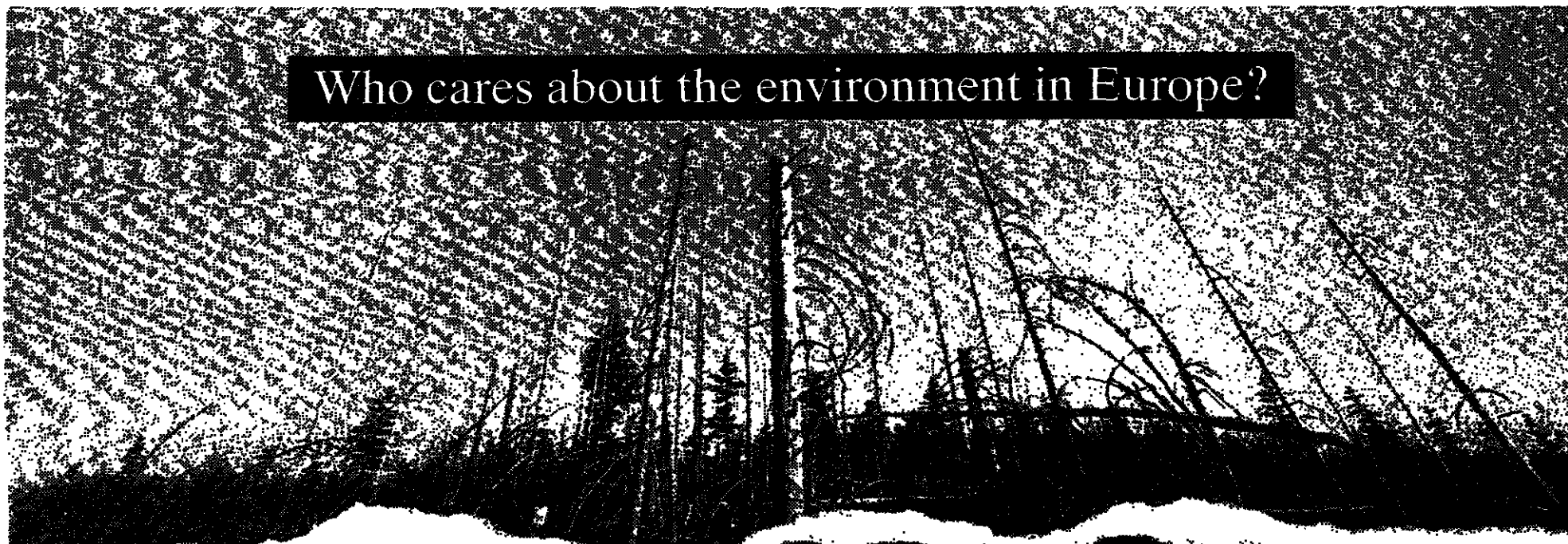
So far, 15,000 of the 45,000 have failed the test.

■ A Few Want To Go Home

About 200 of the 13,000 Vietnamese refugees in Thai refugee camps have expressed a desire to return home with financial support from the United Nations, according to a UN statement released Thursday in Bangkok and reported by United Press International.

The statement said the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will arrange a flight to Ho Chi Minh City for the refugees.

So far 129 boat people in Thailand have returned home voluntarily under the plan, it said.



Who cares about the environment in Europe?



Who tells you most about the state of the arts in Europe?



Who reports more on business in Europe?

The European. It's the one newspaper devoted entirely to Europe.

jobs, investments, holidays, fashion.

It gives you essential information

on the environment. On health, lifestyle, education, sport. Every week

it focuses on issues that concern us all, in Europe.

This Friday, open

The European — it opens up Europe for you.

# THE EUROPEAN

Buy it every Friday, and open up Europe.

Hot Over

A

Time

By S.

A

betw



# TRAVEL

International Herald Tribune

- Spanish Heights
- New Zealand Wine
- The Frequent Traveler

## TRAVELER'S CHOICE

### For People Who Like Sharks

People who like sharks say the creatures aren't so bad. Sharks are simply misunderstood, they say. In a current exhibit at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History in Washington, the largest and most comprehensive show ever assembled on sharks, scientists attempt to expose the lies that have clouded peoples' minds about these graceful, torpedo-shaped ballers of death. For instance, the exhibition points out that sharks are not mindless eating machines. That's totally incorrect. Sharks are intelligent eating machines. Somehow, though, this is not a great comfort. If there is anything worse than a mindless eating machine, it's an intelligent and resourceful eating machine, prowling through its own environment, in the dark, at night, in murky water, among bathers who are floundering like wounded mules. The show runs through Jan. 20.

### Upgrading Australian Airport

A plan to upgrade the Proserpine Airport in Queensland will offer travelers a fourth international airport when visiting the northeastern Australian state, which includes the Great Barrier Reef. The project, being developed by Ansett Airlines and Aqua Del Ray International (a Japanese development company), calls for the existing air strip to be extended by about 650 feet (200 meters) and the runway shoulders widened to accommodate long-range aircraft. Construction of the \$5 million first phase is expected to be completed by 1993.

### In Quest for Bald Eagle, Consider Montana

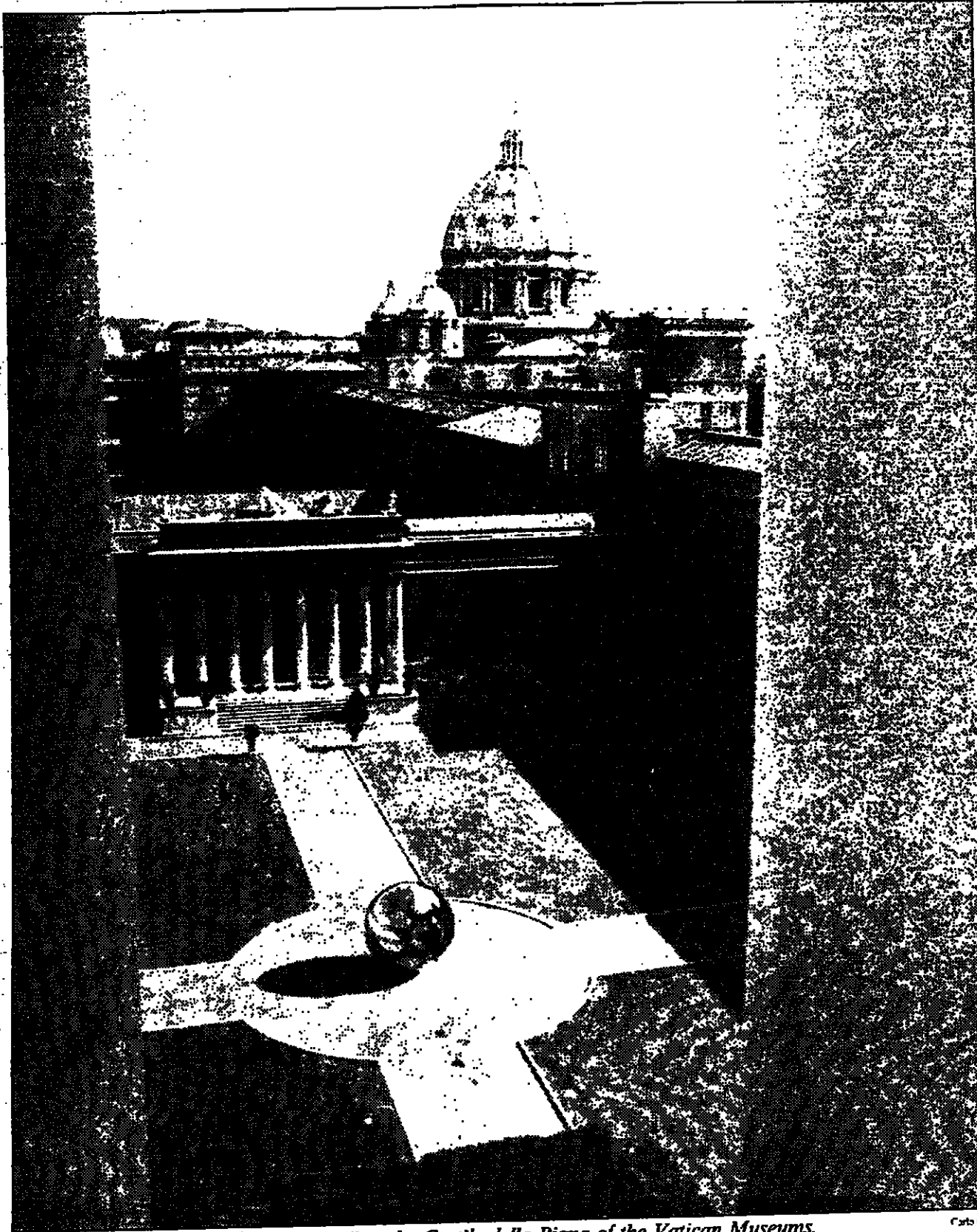
Travelers in search of a rare natural spectacle may want to consider Helena, Montana, where one of the largest concentrations of bald eagles in the United States is expected to migrate in November and early December. Montana naturalists say the eagle migration has grown rapidly over the last three years, with hundreds of the majestic predators drawn to a rich bounty of Kokanee salmon that spawn along a stretch of the Missouri River near Canyon Ferry Village, 20 miles (about 30 kilometers) northeast of Helena, the state's capital. Eagles are also observed along the river banks from Canyon Ferry Village to Cascade. Last year, wildlife officials said, the number of eagles more than doubled, to 220, and this year they project that as many as 400 will join the migration. From a public viewing site, the birds can easily be seen swooping down, their vast wings fully extended. The best time to view the eagles is from Nov. 9 to Dec. 2.

### A Guide to Buying a House in France

A new guide, "Buying a House in France," by Vivienne Menkes-Ivry, leads foreigners through the intricacies of acquiring a French residence, whether a permanent home or a vacation cottage. The concise guide takes the potential homeowner in France through such steps as choosing a region of the country, finding a house, renovating it, operating a bed-and-breakfast and, finally, selling one's house. For the first-time buyer, it explains such arcane as dealing with the *notaire* and real estate agents, the *compromis de vente*, and the various kinds of mortgages. The guide, published by Simon & Schuster, costs \$3.95.

### Marine Mammals on Display in Baltimore

The National Aquarium in Baltimore is scheduled to open its \$35 million Marine Mammal Pavilion on Dec. 26. The main feature of the addition is a habitat for three beluga whales and six Atlantic bottlenose dolphins surrounded by a 1,300-seat amphitheater. A 30-minute presentation about whales will be given in the amphitheater several times a day. The aquarium is at Pier 3, 501 East Pratt Street (301-576-3860) in the Inner Harbor area. Among the 5,000 aquatic animals are sharks, ocean rays, large gamefish and seals, and there is a raft forest with Amazonian parrots and iguanas and other reptiles.



Arnaldo Pomodoro's "Sfera con sfera" in the Cortile della Pigna of the Vatican Museums.

## Vatican Chic: Modern Art and Michelangelo

by Kate Singleton

VATICAN CITY — Visitors who emerge from the Vatican Museums dazed by their wealth of possessions should pause for a moment in the adjacent Cortile della Pigna, for that august enclosure, planned by Bramante in the early 1500s and perfected by Michelangelo, has recently been embellished with a large spherical bronze sculpture by Arnaldo Pomodoro, one of the most consistent and profound Italian artists of the generation now in its 60s.

The center of the Pigna courtyard was originally dominated by a fountain of Roman origin, placed there by Pope Julius III in the mid-16th century. In 1846, this was replaced by a monolithic sculpture in marble that was once the base of the column of Emperor Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius.

Forty years later, its place was taken by a column erected to commemorate the First Vatican Ecumenical Council. This monument also proved to be short-lived: It suffered from static imbalance, became damaged and was finally dismantled in 1936.

For several decades the center of the Cortile della Pigna was destined to remain empty — not least because during the '70s excavation was under way for the creation of underground storage for Vatican archives.

It was only in 1984 that Carlo Pietrangeli, the director of the Vatican Museums, felt that he could envisage the right solution. He was visiting the major retrospective of Pomodoro's work at the Forte del Belvedere in Florence, and immediately realized that his sculptures both embody a powerful microcosm and naturally relate to the surrounding architectural context.

In the "Sfera con sfera" donated to the Vatican Museums a smaller bronze sphere is embraced by a large one, whose smooth outer surface reflects both the heavens (and all that moves therein), and the apparent fixity of the surrounding buildings. Inside both the larger and the smaller sphere the bronze has been sculpted into myriad mechanical forms, like so many interrelated cogs whose levers throw shadows inward.

The appropriateness of Pomodoro's sculpture is not only due to its evident symbolic meaning, however. It is also a question of scale and overall balance.

"The original version of the work dates back to 1963," the artist explains, "and in working on this new one I spent a long time studying its proportions and relating them to those of the pine cone [the 320 centimeter (125 inch) bronze 'Pigna' from which the enclosure takes its name], the stairway designed by Michelangelo to lead up to the balcony, and the arches of the courtyard. The latter measure nearly four meters, which I have echoed in the diameter of the sphere."

Kate Singleton is a Milan-based journalist who writes frequently on cultural affairs.

## The Voices of Terezín's Children

by Michael Balter

IT is a custom for visitors wandering the thicket of tombstones in Prague's Old Jewish Cemetery to place small rocks on top of the markers, a practice said to date from when the Jews lived in the desert and there were no flowers to be had. Sometimes people tuck folded pieces of paper between the rocks, on which they write messages meant to be read by other visitors, or perhaps directed at whatever unseen spirit they feel resides there.

I picked one up at random. It read, "Peace of heart, peace of mind, for me, for everyone." Of the 12,000 tombstones in the cemetery, the first was placed in 1439 and the last in 1787. Most of these deaths, although certainly not all, were from natural causes. Yet the somber reverence in the faces of visitors reflects a more contemporary history, in which the death of a Jew is all too likely to have been a murder.

As if to underscore this point, a former ceremonial house at the entrance to the cemetery has been given over to an exhibition of drawings and writings of children who were imprisoned at Terezín, a town about 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Prague. During World War II, the Nazis evacuated the population and turned Terezín into a concentration camp. Between November 1941 and May 1945, when Czechoslovakia was liberated by the Soviet Army, more than 80,000 Jews passed through the camp on their way to Auschwitz and similar destinations. An additional 33,000



Terezín, drawing by the Czech artist Bedrich Fritta.

never made it any farther, dying at Terezín of starvation, disease or torture.

Despite the harsh conditions, the Germans tried to create the illusion that Terezín was a "model" camp. Many artists and intellectuals were imprisoned there, in-

cluding the writer Karel Polack and the young composer Viktor Ullmann, and the Nazis tolerated a considerable degree of artistic freedom. The prisoners put on operas, concerts and plays, including a number of original compositions.

The Germans used this artistic activity to try to convince a delegation of the International Red Cross in June 1944 that the Jews were being well treated. The following month, however, the Nazis discovered that a number of paintings depicting the brutality of life at Terezín had been smuggled out of the camp. Several artists were moved to a nearby prison. One was beaten to death on the spot. Others were sent to Auschwitz.

Few of the works created by the adult artists of Terezín survived. One that did was an opera composed by Ullmann that did not get beyond the rehearsal stage at the camp. Ullmann died in Auschwitz, but the score was discovered many years after the war and was finally performed in Amsterdam and elsewhere.

Yet among the camp's inmates were 15,000 children. Most of them were separated from their parents and housed in various buildings in the town. The Nazis forbade formal schooling, but did allow art classes. Some 4,000 drawings have been preserved, as well as poetry and copies of magazines and other publications that the children produced secretly with the help of adults assigned to live with them.

As I walked through the exhibition, it struck me that the drawings fell into two categories. Many depicted monsters and grisly scenes of hangings and deaths — scenes drawn from the depths of children's nightmares. Yet others were elaborate fantasies of flowers and butterflies, kings and queens. An explanatory note in English captured the essence of things with

Continued on page 9

## The Southern Route: Another India

by Barbara Crossette

THINK of India. What does the mind's eye see? The Taj Mahal, the desert fortresses of Rajasthan, the teeming ghats of Varanasi? Think again. There is another India, where fresh Dravidian temples, old towns, tropical beach-spaces perfume the evening air, where softer, shaded inland waterways and a sweeter way of life. This is South India, the land below the hills called the Vindhyas.

Most foreign tourists never get this far south, to the states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. South Indians will be quick to tell you why they think this is so: The tourism industry, like politics and government, has been long dominated by the Hindi-speaking North.

This state of affairs won't last long, however. South India is becoming directly accessible to the outside world through international flights

to Madras or Trivandrum by Air-India, Air Lanka, British Airways and Singapore Airlines, among others.

The Indian South is a land of beginnings. Centuries ago, South India was the center of old Hindu empires and a civilization that, in many pockets, never fell under the control or influence of the Islamic conquerors from the Northwest Frontier or their descendants, who conquered most of the rest of India. Much earlier, the South was the first corner of India to welcome Muslims from the trading nations across the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. Jewish settlements sprang up too. And, according to history that slips into legend, St. Thomas the Apostle brought Christianity to India in the first century, long before most Europeans practiced the new faith.

Finally, and significantly for the South, where English is still widely spoken, the British Empire in India began here in the 17th century, with the establishment of a trading post at Madras.

Madras seems the logical place to start a

southern adventure. The plane touches down almost in the shadow of St. Thomas Mount. Madras may be India's most attractively situated large city, strung along a wide Bay of Bengal beach from Fort St. George at the northern end of town to the estuary of the Adyar River near the south.

The buildings of the fort complex, the oldest dating from about 1650, now house government and military offices. The first British (Anglican) church in India was built in the fort in about 1678. Still home to an active congregation, it displays many historical plaques, one commemorating Elihu Yale, the founder of Yale University, who worked in Madras as a clerk.

The Madras seafloor — the Bay of Bengal is nice to look at, but unsafe to swim in — is also the setting for Madras University and other educational institutions as well as the splendid icehouse built in 1840 to receive India's first

Continued on page 9

WHEN you first handle a Patek Philippe, you become aware that this watch has the presence of an object of rare perfection. We know the feeling well. We experience it every time a Patek Philippe leaves the hands of our craftsmen. You can call it pride. For us it lasts a moment; for you, a lifetime.

We made this watch for you — to be part of your life — simply because this is the way we've always made watches. And if we may draw a conclusion from five generations of experience, it will be this: choose once but choose well. A Patek Philippe — because it's for a lifetime.



PATEK PHILIPPE  
GENEVE

Patek Philippe S.A.  
41, rue du Rhône - 1211 Geneva 3 - Switzerland



## TRAVEL

## THE FREQUENT TRAVELER

## Winter Weekend Packages

by Roger Collis

**S**HOULD you find yourself in London this winter with a spare weekend and someone to share it with, you could do worse than take off for Paris for two nights at the Hotel Lancaster, a small luxury establishment just off the Champs-Élysées. This will cost £500 (about \$975) for the two of you including round-trip travel by British Airways, with continental breakfast, flowers, fruit and a bottle of Roger et Gallet scent. The price is valid through March.

Or you might prefer to hunker down in a suite with a riverside view at the Hotel Connaught, near the Regent's Park. The price is £175 for two per night with English breakfast and use of the health center, a saving of about £100. It is available until the end of the year. Or get out of town to somewhere like Lucknam Park, a luxury hotel just outside Bath (£120 per night for a double room) where you might catch a dinner recital on Sunday evening.

You don't have to look very far for an excuse this winter to take off for a weekend during a business trip. Hotels are clamoring to attract the "business extender" with a smorgasbord of special offers — from straightforward discounts to elaborately packaged breaks and mini-vacations. Some hotel chains do across the board promotions; others leave it up to individual managers.

"Added-value" packages can include simple frills, such as a room upgrade, fruit and flowers, to gourmet meals, excursions, tickets to a show, limo transfers, use of the health club, and free tennis and golf. There are theme weekends to suit different tastes. Low rates are the major attraction on most weekend packages with up to 50 percent off regular weekday rates. For example, Hilton International offers a 2-for-1 program until the end of March at 23 European cities, plus Cairo, Istanbul and Ankara. A couple staying two nights over a weekend get a double for the price of a single and the second night free. At the Athens Hilton, for example, a couple would pay \$220 for two nights. Inter-Continental offers a discount of around 50 percent with its "Heart of the City" program at 29 European hotels if you stay Friday,

Saturday or Sunday night (valid to March 31). Whether you are alone or with a partner it is 300 Deutsche marks (about \$200) a night, with continental breakfast and taxes, at the Hotel Schweizerhof or the Inter-Continental in Berlin.

Holiday Inn has bargains in its "European Weekend" program (up to 50 percent off the rack rate) at 42 hotels in continental Europe.

**Hotels are clamoring to attract the 'business extender.'**

and 34 in Britain. Prices start at about \$70 a person per night — including buffet breakfast.

Mariotti offers a "Supersaver Weekend" rate (Friday, Saturday or Sunday night) until Feb. 28 at its properties in Europe. For example, a couple can stay for 1,200 francs a night at the Prince de Galles in Paris (against the usual rate of 2,300 francs). 1,875 schillings (about \$175) at the Vienna Marriott, 290 guilders (about \$170) in Amsterdam, 175 Deutsche marks in Munich and 225 marks in Hamburg.

My vote for unbridled hedonism goes to The Savoy in London for its "Two's Company" weekend package. This is valid Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights till Aug. 31. The price is £245 for two on the first night (you can stay for just one night) and £360 for each additional night. For this you get a suite with a view of the Thames, a bottle of Dom Perignon, flowers, Savoy chocolates and flowers on arrival, your own butler for a gourmet dinner, created by chef Anton Edelmann, with specially selected wines and a Champagne breakfast. Plus a set of The Savoy's own pink table linen.

Runner-up is a two-night package at the Vista Palace Hotel, perched on the hillside above Monte Carlo. This costs 3,000 francs per couple, for which you get a luxury room, breakfast and dinner on two nights with wine, and use of the health club.

The Leading Hotels of the World, a marketing organization,

has a range of winter breaks at dozens of properties. For example, a two-night stay over the weekend at the Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten in Hamburg costs 900 Deutsche marks for two people with American breakfast and ticket for the opera, ballet or a musical, and is available till Dec. 31. The Hotel de Clillon in Paris offers an "Excursion Weekend" (until April 30) comprising a double room for one night, continental breakfast, bottle of Champagne, lunch or dinner in Les Ambassadeurs (a two-star Michelin restaurant) and gift. This costs 1,775 francs per person.

Anybody yearning for a traditional English Christmas would enjoy the four night package at the Lygon Arms, a 16th century coaching inn in the village of Broadway in hunting country two hours from London, which entertained, presumably on different occasions, Oliver Cromwell and Charles I. Festivities begin on Christmas Eve with lunch, tea and a Champagne party, followed by carol singing and midnight service, followed in turn by punch and hot mince pies, Christmas dinner, Boxing Day you can join a meet of the North Cotswold hounds, lunch, dinner and dancing. And so it goes through to a draw at dinner on Thursday night. First prize is two tickets to New York and four nights at the Carlyle Hotel. The Price at the Lygon Arms for four nights with accommodation, meals and entertainments is £175 a day per person.

**O**R celebrate the New Year in Paris with three nights at the George V. You arrive Dec. 29 with flowers, fruit and Champagne in your room. Dinner and dancing start at 9 P.M. on Dec. 31 with delicacies such as foie gras with truffles and deep sea bass with caviar. You get free entry to 60 museums and a cruise on the Seine. The package costs 5,910 francs per person — double occupancy.

These are just a few of the winter deals; you'll find plenty more. Don't limit yourself to major hotels. Check out small, privately owned properties. And always ask for the package by name when you book. It's tough being away during weekends, but at least enjoy while you suffer.

## In New Zealand's Growing Wine Country

by Erik de Mauny

**O**VER the last decade, New Zealand wine-makers have won international acclaim for the quality of their wines, with their fresh yet complex flowery aromas. The industry started modestly enough in Hawke's Bay on the east coast of the North Island 140 years ago, when French Marist priests planted the first vines on seven acres given them by a friendly Maori chief.

In its early years, Mission Vineyards, as it came to be known, went through various vicissitudes, but in 1896 it was established on its present site, and in 1923, when my family arrived in New Zealand from Europe, it was still the only producer of high quality wines.

So this is where I started my tour, watching the vintner, Paul Mooney, work among the barrels of French oak, and discussing future prospects with the manager, Warwick Orcheston.

As the veteran of New Zealand vineyards, Greenmeadows Mission may lack the glamour of more recent arrivals, such as Kumeu River in Auckland or Cloudy Bay in Marlborough, but it illustrates the versatility of winemaking in New Zealand and Australia. These are wines grown in a cool climate, which means that the grapes have time to mature slowly. Hawke's Bay now has 17 winemaking establishments, and while white wines predominate in the country, this region produces fine aromatic reds from cabernet sauvignon, pinot noir and merlot grapes.

Best Red Wine in this year's International Smallwiners Competition in Sydney went to Kate Morris, who has been the vintner at Vidalis in Hawke's Bay since 1983, for her Cabernet Sauvignon Merlot Reserve 1987. Vidalis, founded by a Spanish winemaker in 1905, has built up a solid reputation, and Morris is confident of even better results over the next year or so. She is one of a growing number of women winemakers.

A more unusual testimony to Hawke's Bay's viticultural prowess came when the wine maker of the local Te Mata vineyard, John Buck, was visiting a French friend at Chagnon in the Sancerre region, and was invited to a blind wine-tasting. Buck and his friend thought it would be fun surreptitiously to enter a Sauvignon blanc from the local vineyard into the competition among the tasters, but they judged it one of the best wines



Paul Mooney among the barrels at Greenmeadows Mission.

ever entered and were astonished when they discovered its origin.

After Hawke's Bay, Auckland is the second oldest region for wine-growing, its traditions of viticulture going back to the arrival late last century of immigrants from Dalmatia, who began by eking out a living as gum diggers but turned to planting vines. Immigrants also came from Lebanon, and it is to these two sources that many of the Auckland vineyards, especially in the Henderson district, owe their origin.

We drove out to Matua Valley, where Ross and Bill Spence were the first to introduce Sauvignon blanc into the New Zealand wine repertoire. Here I saw once more the massive stainless steel tanks, first developed for the local dairy industry, which have helped give technical advantage to New Zealand winemaking.

Later, in the handsome wood-paneled estate building of the Nobilo vineyards at nearby Huarua, where grapes are also brought in from other districts such as Hawke's Bay and Marlborough, Nick Nobilo gave us several whites and reds to taste, including a soft and fragrant pinotage red, and we also sampled his 1989 Sauvignon blanc, which won the grand prix at the Selections Mondiales in Montreal earlier this year. The Nobilo family came originally from the Adriatic island of Korcula. It was the senior Nick Nobilo and his wife, Zuzana, who planted the first vines at Huarua in 1943.

A year later, another Yugoslav family, Mick and Kate Brakovich and their son Mate, founded the Henderson vineyard now known as Kumeu River. A third-generation member of the family, Michael Brakovich, has won acclaim

for his Kumeu River chardonnay, sauvignon and merlot cabernet. He had a guest from Bordeaux, Alain Moueix, of the family that makes Chateau Pichon, the celebrated Pomerol that is one of the most expensive red wines in the world, who was spending a year in New Zealand studying local vineyards before returning to France.

The New Zealand wine phenomenon is at its most dramatic in Marlborough, at the northern tip of the South Island. Fifteen years ago, there were no vineyards in Marlborough. The first vines were planted in the mid-1970s by the firm of Montana, which now operates the single biggest winemaking plant in the country. The combination of abundant sunshine, with strong, free-draining soils has made Marlborough such a desirable site in the eyes of Europeans.

The Champagne firm of Deutz

has invested in a joint venture with Montana, and Veuve Clicquot Ponsardin has just signed an agreement with the Marlborough Cloudy Bay winery, established only five years ago by the West Australian firm of Cape Mentelle and already renowned for its 1988 sauvignon blanc. Meanwhile, at the Cellier Le Brun vineyard, set up in 1980, a French winemaker, Daniel Le Brun and his wife, Adele, have been successfully producing sparkling wines by the Champagne method.

**A** GREAT deal more could be said about the different New Zealand wine-growing regions, such as Gisborne in the North Island and Nelson, Canterbury and Otago on the South Island. I ended my tour in one of the newest regions, at Marlborough, in the Wairarapa north of Wellington. It contains only six small vineyards, which in all produce no more than 1 percent of the country's total wine output.

Yet many experts believe that Marlborough could become New Zealand's most prestigious wine region. Two wines above all are being grown there — chardonnay and pinot noir — and as one expert commented, "It is no coincidence that the top two varieties are those found in France's northern Burgundy region, which enjoys a similar cool climate."

I visited four of the six Marlborough vineyards, starting with Te Kairanga, founded in 1984, where the Australian winemaker, Chris Bulmer, showed me a newly completed installation of stainless steel tanks and oak barrels; and at the nearby Palfrey Estate, I tasted a promising pinot noir from their first vintage.

With rare exceptions, all the vineyard and winemaking establishments I have mentioned welcome visitors, and a pleasant way of taking a holiday in New Zealand is to follow the wine trails.

New Zealand wines are not particularly cheap. They start at around \$10 (roughly \$7 U.S.) a bottle and go up to \$30 (\$21 U.S.) or more for a so-called "boutique" wine from one of the smaller vineyards. But in a country where most people drink only beer or spirits until a few years ago, winemakers are showing a new confidence.

*Erik de Mauny is a former BBC correspondent in France and the United States. He lives in Normandy.*

## INTERNATIONAL ARTS AGENDA

## AUSTRIA

**Vienna**  
Albertina (tel: 534.83). To Nov. 11: Egon Schiele: a show of 150 watercolors, drawings, sketches and gouaches, in conjunction with the 100th anniversary of the artist's birth.

Musikverein (and Konzerthaus) (tel: 663.190). Oct. 26 to Dec. 9: The third "Wien Modern" festival focuses on the music of Ernst Krenek, Elliott Carter, Witold Lutoslawski and Luciano Berio.

Upper Belvedere To Nov. 25: Egon Schiele: paintings, with preliminary studies and sketches.

Palais des Beaux-Arts (tel: 512.50.45). To Dec. 30: "The Human Machine," the story of human evolution told in 200 exhibits, from fossil remains of early man to prehistoric art and artifacts.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**  
**Prague**  
Národní Galerie (tel: 53.62.53). To Nov. 17: Andy Warhol: 65 prints by the artist from 1962-1987.

**DENMARK**  
**Humblebæk**  
Louisiana Museum (tel: 42.19.07.19). To Jan. 6: Andy Warhol: a retrospective of 100 works, 1950-87.

**ENGLAND**  
**London**  
Barbican Art Gallery (tel: 636.41.41). To Jan. 6: "Chagall to Kiefer: Jewish Experience in 20th Century Art." Over 200 paintings, sculptures, stage designs and installations.

National Portrait Gallery (tel: 556.89.21). To Mar. 17, 1991: The Raj: India and the British, 1800-1947.

Royal Academy of Arts (tel: 734.90.52). To Dec. 9: "Monet in the '90s: The Series Paintings," the painter's repeated renderings of Rouen Cathedral, Haystacks and the Japanese bridge in his garden. In Giverny are among 90 works on view. Royal Opera House (tel: 240.10.66). Verdi's "Attila," with Edward Davies conducting and cast including Ruggero Raimondo, Renato Bruson and Maria Zempieri. (Nov. 3).

## BELGIUM

**Brussels**  
Musée d'Art Moderne (tel: 513.96.30). To Dec. 16: "The Goldschmidt Collection," includes works by Picasso, De Chirico, Klee, James Ensor, Miro, Toulouse-Lautrec.

Palais des Beaux-Arts (tel: 512.50.45). To Dec. 30: "The Human Machine," the story of human evolution told in 200 exhibits, from fossil remains of early man to prehistoric art and artifacts.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**  
**Prague**  
Národní Galerie (tel: 53.62.53). To Nov. 17: Andy Warhol: 65 prints by the artist from 1962-1987.

**DENMARK**  
**Humblebæk**  
Louisiana Museum (tel: 42.19.07.19). To Jan. 6: Andy Warhol: a retrospective of 100 works, 1950-87.

**ENGLAND**  
**London**  
Barbican Art Gallery (tel: 636.41.41). To Jan. 6: "Chagall to Kiefer: Jewish Experience in 20th Century Art." Over 200 paintings, sculptures, stage designs and installations.

National Portrait Gallery (tel: 556.89.21). To Mar. 17, 1991: The Raj: India and the British, 1800-1947.

Royal Academy of Arts (tel: 734.90.52). To Dec. 9: "Monet in the '90s: The Series Paintings," the painter's repeated renderings of Rouen Cathedral, Haystacks and the Japanese bridge in his garden. In Giverny are among 90 works on view. Royal Opera House (tel: 240.10.66). Verdi's "Attila," with Edward Davies conducting and cast including Ruggero Raimondo, Renato Bruson and Maria Zempieri. (Nov. 3).

## FRANCE

**Lyon**  
Musée des Beaux-Arts (tel: 78.28.07.66). To Nov. 19: Edouard Vuillard: a retrospective including 100 paintings and 50 drawings, posters and prints.

**Paris**  
Chateau de Versailles, Saturday Music Series (tel: 39.48.42.24). Concert series of French music in the royal chapel, Saturdays through November 3.

Grand Palais (tel: 42.89.54.10). To Jan. 14: Over 400 works by Picasso — paintings, ceramics, sketchbooks — recently acquired by the French state.

Musée Bourdelle (tel: 45.48.67.27). To Nov. 4: "The Artists of La Coupole," includes works by Paul Gauguin, Dufour, Soutine, Léger and Giacometti.

Musée du Louvre (tel: 42.60.39.28). To Jan. 21: "Mémoires d'Audrey," l'Autoportrait of Audrey Hepburn, features 40 drawings chosen from the Louvre collection by the philosopher Jacques Derrida. Accompanying the exhibition is a text written by Derrida around the drawings.

To Nov. 12: Guernico in France: 20 drawings and 35 paintings from French public collections by the 17th-century Italian artist. To Dec. 31: Eugène Ionesco: 60 painted cards, 1968-1974. To Dec. 31: "French Neoclassical Sculpture" from 1760 to 1830, includes 59 works.

Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (tel: 47.23.61.27). To Nov. 11: "Minimal Art From the Parca Collection," works by the likes of Sol LeWitt, Bruce Nauman, and Carl Andre.

To Jan. 13: "Maret, Pastels and Drawings," includes 70 works by the artist.

## GERMANY

**Berlin**  
Neue Nationalgalerie (tel: 268.5). To Nov. 4: "Carl Blechen (1798-1840): Between Romanticism and Realism," a paintings retrospective.

**Cologne**  
Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle (tel: 221.23.35). To Nov. 4: "Art From the

G.D.R. in the Ludwig Collection, Charlottenburg," includes 100 paintings, drawings, sculptures and graphic works.

**Essen**  
Villa Hugel (tel: 188.4887). To Nov. 4: "Saint Petersburg in 1800: Masterpieces from the Hermitage Collection," includes 555 works of art and artifacts from the Soviet museum.

Museum Folkwang (tel: 65.64.52). To Nov. 4: "Vincent van Gogh and the Moderns — 1890-1914," 168 works, including 54 paintings by van Gogh and works by Picasso, Braque, Matisse, Vlaminck, Derain, E.L. Kirchner.

**Frankfurt**  
Opera (tel: 23.60.61). Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht's "Mahagonny" conducted by Steven Slovic, staged by Aris Zinger with sets by Peter Paul (Nov. 3, 5).

**Wiesbaden**  
Landesmuseum To Nov. 25: "To the Point: The Works of Artists of the 20th Century." Works by 56 artists from Europe, the Soviet Union and the United States.

**Italy**  
**Bologna**  
Palazzo Pepoli Campogrande (tel: 24.32.22). To Nov. 10: Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1665-1747): a retrospective of 100 works.

**Milan**  
Teatro alla Scala (tel: 809.160). "The Nutcracker" (Tchaikovsky/Russevsky). Nov. 3, 4, 5, 7.

**Rome**  
Palazzo delle Esposizioni (tel: 545.54.65). To Nov. 11: Norman Rockwell: over 100 works by the artist.

**Rivoli**  
Castello di Rivoli (tel: 958.72.56).

## JAPAN

**Tokyo**  
Hara Museum of Contemporary Art

**ACROSS**  
1 Shade of brown  
5 He wrote "The Horse's Mouth"  
9 Apportion  
14 Roided or Arlene  
15 Kind of history  
16 Dine at home  
17 Historic series of linguistic changes  
20 Furies  
21 Flat stones, in Mexico  
22 Iniquitous place  
23 Engendered

**DOWN**  
24 Nowhereville  
43 City  
44 Caution  
45 Watchdog org.  
46 Elevator  
47 Festival pomp  
48 One of the Apodes  
52 School of Russian poetry  
55 Incapacitate  
56 "Gloria in Excelsis Deo"  
60 Engage in rally  
61 Soprano from Valencia  
62 O., to O. Henry  
63 Ceremonial dinner  
64 Painter Jan van der  
65 Since, in Selkirk

**Solution to Previous Puzzle**

SAWYER CARTER  
BEREAVE ALTERER  
RATTLED RIVIERE  
ELI EREMITA ROI  
WAS FIN NUN  
ENTWINE SPATE  
RESONANT HEALER  
METE COPT  
BAKERS THEATRES  
ARENT PEARLIER  
ROY LEN CSA  
BUN STANCES LEG  
ESOTIRY EXAMINE  
RETINUE LIKENED  
SEEDER STILES



Man Ray, "Augustabernard's new line," in the New York retrospective.

To Dec. 2: "Expressionist Masterworks on Paper," from the Ludwig Museum, Cologne.

**Venice**  
Fondazione Cini (tel: 528.99.00). To Nov. 18: From Raphael to Picasso: 60 drawings from the Royal Library of Windsor's Joseph Smith Collection.

**Palazzo Grassi** (tel: 523.16.80). To Dec. 9: From Van Gogh to Picasso: From Kandinsky to Pollock: 160 paintings and sculptures from the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York and the Peggy Guggenheim Collection in Venice.

**Spain**  
**Barcelona**  
Museum of Modern Art. To Dec. 20: "Modernism," an overview of Catalan art of the turn of the century including paintings, posters, jewelry, glass, furniture, textiles.

**Madrid**  
Museo Español de Arte Contemporáneo. To Dec. 9: "Private Space," domestic life depicted in Spanish art of the past 500 years, with works by 70 painters, from Murillo and El Greco to Picasso and Dalí.

**SWITZERLAND**  
**Basel**  
Kunstmuseum (tel: 22.06.28). To

(tel: 445.08.51). To Nov. 4: "Surroundings," documents the installations of the artist Christo.

**NETHERLANDS**  
**Amsterdam**  
Stedelijk Museum (tel: 573.29.11). To Nov. 4: "In the U.S.S.R. and Beyond," works by 20 Russian artists from 1970-1980.

Van Gogh Museum (tel: 570.52.00). To Nov. 4: 250 sketches from Van Gogh's letters never before publicly shown, from the Van Gogh Museum and elsewhere. To Nov. 4: Entle Bernard (1886-1941): a retrospective which focuses on pre-1890 work.

**The Hague**  
Mauritshuis Museum (tel: 45.52.44). To Jan. 13: "Dutch Masters From the United States," 75 paintings from public and private collections in the U.S., including works by Rembrandt, Vermeer, Van Goyen, Ruisdael, Jan Steen and Frans Hals.

**SPAIN**  
**Barcelona**  
Museum of Modern Art. To Dec. 20: "Modernism," an overview of Catalan art of the turn of the century including paintings, posters, jewelry, glass, furniture, textiles.

**Madrid**  
Museo Español de Arte Contemporáneo. To Dec. 9: "Private Space," domestic life depicted in Spanish art of the past 500 years, with works by 70 painters, from Murillo and El Greco to Picasso and Dalí.

**SWITZERLAND**  
**Basel**  
Kunstmuseum (tel: 22.06.28). To

**UNITED STATES**  
**New York**  
Metropolitan Museum of Art (tel: 535.77.10). To Jan. 13: "Medici: Splendors of Thirty Centuries," includes 400 works from the pre-Columbian era to the 20th century. To Dec. 2: Joseph Wright of Derby: paintings and drawings by the 18th-century English artist.

**Washington**  
National Gallery (tel: 737.42.15). To Jan. 22: "Tian, Prince of Peasants." Nearly 50 Chinese from collections worldwide are on view, including the three surviving ceiling paintings. To Nov. 4: "Kazimir Malevich, 1878-1928," the largest-ever show in the U.S. of the artist's work, includes 170 works.

**NEW YORK TIMES**, edited by Eugene Malachuk.

1 Lined  
2 French square  
3 River of Deutschland  
4 Bator, in Mongolia  
5 Secret  
6 Originated  
7 Kind of material

8 Primordial substance of the universe  
9 Where Xarxes crossed the Hellespont  
10 Surken fences  
11 Have (try)  
12 Plentiful  
13 Tolkien's tree folk  
14 A Capulet  
15 Eyed with bad intent  
16 Activity at Reno  
17 Prosperity  
18 Mil. command  
19 Peduncle  
20 Quinceup, e.g.  
21 With: Comb. form  
22 City in Uttar Pradesh  
23 Prissy  
24 Whack  
25 Average talk-show host?  
26 Site of the Dead Sea  
27 Scanty  
28 City on the Rio Grande  
29 Salver  
30 Sovereign remedy  
31 Word with deist  
32 City in Uttar Pradesh  
33 Prissy  
34 Whack  
35 Average talk-show host?  
36 Site of the Dead Sea  
37 Scanty  
38 City on the Rio Grande  
39 Salver  
40 Sovereign remedy  
41 Word with deist  
42 City in Uttar Pradesh  
43 Prissy  
44 Whack  
45 Average talk-show host?  
46 Site of the Dead Sea  
47 Scanty  
48 City on the Rio Grande  
49 Salver  
50 Sovereign remedy  
51 Word with deist  
52 City in Uttar Pradesh  
53 Prissy  
54 Whack  
55 Average talk-show host?  
56 Site of the Dead Sea  
57 Scanty  
58 City on the Rio Grande  
59 Salver  
60 Sovereign remedy  
61 Word with deist  
62 City in Uttar Pradesh  
63 Prissy  
64 Whack  
65 Average talk-show host?  
66 Site of the Dead Sea  
67 Scanty  
68 City on the Rio Grande  
69 Salver  
70 Sovereign remedy  
71 Word with deist  
72 City in Uttar Pradesh  
73 Prissy  
74 Whack  
75 Average talk-show host?  
76 Site of the Dead Sea  
77 Scanty  
78 City on the Rio Grande  
79 Salver  
80 Sovereign remedy  
81 Word with deist  
82 City in Uttar Pradesh  
83 Prissy  
84 Whack  
85 Average talk-show host?  
86 Site of the Dead Sea  
87 Scanty  
88 City on the Rio Grande  
89 Salver  
90 Sovereign remedy  
91 Word with deist  
92 City in Uttar Pradesh  
93 Prissy  
94 Whack  
95 Average talk-show host?  
96 Site of the Dead Sea  
97 Scanty  
98 City on the Rio Grande  
99 Salver  
100 Sovereign remedy  
101 Word with deist  
102 City in Uttar Pradesh  
103 Prissy  
104 Whack  
105 Average talk-show host?  
106 Site of the Dead Sea  
107 Scanty  
108 City on the Rio Grande  
109 Salver  
110 Sovereign remedy  
111 Word with deist  
112 City in Uttar Pradesh  
113 Prissy  
114 Whack  
115 Average talk-show host?  
116 Site of the Dead Sea  
117 Scanty  
118 City on the Rio Grande  
119 Salver  
120 Sovereign remedy  
121 Word with deist  
122 City in Uttar Pradesh  
123 Prissy  
124 Whack  
125 Average talk-show host?  
126 Site of the Dead Sea  
127 Scanty  
128 City on the Rio Grande  
129 Salver  
130 Sovereign remedy  
131 Word with deist  
132 City in Uttar Pradesh  
133 Prissy  
134 Whack  
135 Average talk-show host?  
136 Site of the Dead Sea  
137 Scanty  
138 City on the Rio Grande  
139 Salver  
140 Sovereign remedy  
141 Word with deist  
142 City in Uttar Pradesh  
143 Prissy  
144 Whack  
145 Average talk-show host?  
146 Site of the Dead Sea  
147 Scanty  
148 City on the Rio Grande  
149 Salver  
150 Sovereign remedy  
151 Word with deist  
152 City in Uttar Pradesh  
153 Prissy  
154 Whack  
155 Average talk-show host?  
156 Site of the Dead Sea  
157 Scanty  
158 City on the Rio Grande  
159 Salver  
160 Sovereign remedy  
161 Word with deist  
162 City in Uttar Pradesh  
163 Prissy  
164 Whack  
165 Average talk-show host?  
166 Site of the Dead Sea  
167 Scanty  
168 City on the Rio Grande  
169 Salver  
170 Sovereign remedy  
171 Word with deist  
172 City in Uttar Pradesh  
173 Prissy  
174 Whack  
175 Average talk-show host?  
176 Site of the Dead Sea  
177 Scanty  
178 City on the Rio Grande  
179 Salver  
180 Sovereign remedy  
181 Word with deist  
182 City in Uttar Pradesh  
183 Prissy  
184 Whack  
185 Average talk-show host?  
186 Site of the Dead Sea  
187 Scanty  
188 City on the Rio Grande  
189 Salver  
190 Sovereign remedy  
191 Word with deist  
192 City in Uttar Pradesh  
193 Prissy  
194 Whack  
195 Average talk-show host?  
196 Site of the Dead Sea  
197 Scanty  
198 City on the Rio Grande  
199 Salver  
200 Sovereign remedy  
201 Word with deist  
202 City in Uttar Pradesh  
203 Prissy  
204 Whack  
205 Average talk-show host?  
206 Site of the Dead Sea  
207 Scanty  
208 City on the Rio Grande  
209 Salver  
210 Sovereign remedy  
2



## TRAVEL

## In India, Another World

Continued from page 7

shipment of ice blocks from America.

There is much else to see: the museums on Parthasarthy Road, the Kapaleshwara Hindu temple, a shrine to Siva. San Thome Cathedral is a Roman Catholic church that houses what are said to be the remains of St. Thomas the Apostle.

For the tourist, almost all roads out of Madras lead south, except for the route west to Kanchipuram, known for heavy silk and temples. But the route south, around the tip of India, offers a wealth of attractions.

The coastal road passes the Crocodile Bank, which, despite the souvenir stores that have sprung up, is a center of research on large reptiles. The center is also the base for the Iruia snake-catchers' cooperative, where poor tribal people extract venom for sale to medical institutions. For a few cents, you can watch the extractions.

The seventh-century shore temples at Mahabalipuram (also called Mamallapuram) are one of the South's biggest tourist attractions for Indians. Once through the ganlet of seashell-gummed stalls and food vendors, one encounters a unique spectacle: Sculptures and rock-carvings depicting daily life, religious scenes and themes from mythology are scattered on the beach and nearby hills.

A Tamil Hindu kingdom known as the Pallava Dynasty once flourished in this region, leaving behind little more than these works of art, one of the best known of which is a relief depiction of the hero Arjuna's penance before Lord Siva.

From Mahabalipuram, a drive of two or three hours brings the traveler to Pondicherry, the last outpost of colonial France in India. Indians like to think Pondicherry has a Gallic flavor, but that seems to have fast faded since the enclave became part of India in the 1950s. Only the uniforms of the police and the old French-built homes and offices in the seafaring area bear witness.

Small studios by artisans from East and West around Pondicherry are producing interesting pottery and leatherwork for shops in cities elsewhere in India.

**S**OUTH of Pondicherry, on the way to Cape Comorin, the southern tip of India, are two great centers of art and architecture, Thanjavur (known more familiarly as Tanjore) and Madurai.

The highlights of the Chola Empire's capital, Thanjavur, are the Brihadishwara temple and its surrounding ramparts. The temple — that part of it open to non-Hindus — is distinguished by its reliefs and statuary, including a gigantic bull, the nandi, the steed of Lord Siva.

Tanjore also has dozens of other temples and several museums, including a 16th-century palace art gallery with a collection of South Indian bronzes.

Madurai is another of India's great temple cities and a favorite destination of Indian pilgrims, who make bus journeys in the most uncomfortable conditions to worship there and pick up a few souvenirs.

A visit to the Shri Meenakshi Temple of Madurai is an experience in the ritual of Hindu temple-going, with all its inevitable side-effects: the beggars, the merchants, the Brahmin holy men; the blur of colored saris that fills every inch of the temple's sides; the intense faces of the devotees; the main-chance pitch of the priests who seem to run lucrative sidelines in blessing or enlightening foreigners. Like other temples in the region, this is Dravidian in form, a tall, broad but slightly pyramiding tower with dark, dank interiors.

South of Madurai, India comes to an end in the raging surf of Kanyakumari, on the tip of Cape Comorin, where the Bay of Bengal meets the Indian Ocean. It is another place of pilgrimage, the 19th-century Hindu reformer Swami Vivekananda meditated before setting off on his crusade to restore intellectualism and social responsibility to India's major religion.

It doesn't take more than an hour or so driving up the west coast of India from Kanyakumari to begin the Kerala experience. Kerala looks and feels like another country, a tropical setting for a cosmopolitan people who were beneficiaries of an odd trinity: progressive kings, a strong Christian school system and later Communist-led governments.

To begin to grasp this odd historical confluence, stop at Padmanabhapuram, near the town of Nagercoil. Padmanabhapuram was once the capital of the maharajahs of Travancore, what is now Kerala. The small town contains one of their palaces, perhaps India's finest but least visited treasure, in a woody setting.

Much of the small, honey palace, which is extremely well-preserved, is built of wood, with floors finished in a secret formula egg-shell lacquer. Here the visitor can sense the atmosphere of a genteel court where women amused themselves on giant indoor swings that are characteristic of South India.

Paintings and prints from the Travancore art collections hang on the walls, and silent courtyards are undisturbed sets for the rituals of courtly life.

North of Padmanabhapuram, the road to Trivandrum passes near the beach resort of Kovalam, which India would like to develop into a major tourist area. Kovalam has its fine, but the beaches, and certainly the hotels, of nearby Sri Lanka (a short flight from Trivandrum or Madras) are far better. But the Kerala coast is attractive, with palms dipping over the sand, often shading small, white churches that face the sea.



The Dravidian Shri Meenakshi Temple at Madurai is an experience in Hindu ritual.

manabhapuram, near the town of Nagercoil. Padmanabhapuram was once the capital of the maharajahs of Travancore, what is now Kerala. The small town contains one of their palaces, perhaps India's finest but least visited treasure, in a woody setting.

Much of the small, honey palace, which is extremely well-preserved, is built of wood, with floors finished in a secret formula egg-shell lacquer. Here the visitor can sense the atmosphere of a genteel court where women amused themselves on giant indoor swings that are characteristic of South India.

Paintings and prints from the Travancore art collections hang on the walls, and silent courtyards are undisturbed sets for the rituals of courtly life.

North of Padmanabhapuram, the road to Trivandrum passes near the beach resort of Kovalam, which India would like to develop into a major tourist area. Kovalam has its fine, but the beaches, and certainly the hotels, of nearby Sri Lanka (a short flight from Trivandrum or Madras) are far better. But the Kerala coast is attractive, with palms dipping over the sand, often shading small, white churches that face the sea.

It doesn't take more than an hour or so driving up the west coast of India from Kanyakumari to begin the Kerala experience. Kerala looks and feels like another country, a tropical setting for a cosmopolitan people who were beneficiaries of an odd trinity: progressive kings, a strong Christian school system and later Communist-led governments.

To begin to grasp this odd historical confluence, stop at Pad-

Trivandrum has a long beach, too, where people walk in the cool evening breezes. But the town itself, a few miles inland, is all bustle. Its bazars, shops and handcraft centers make the town a good place to shop for South Indian crafts. There are interesting brass pieces for sale — bowls, urns, water jugs, vases, idli steamers (for making soft rice cakes). There are also *hangis* (sarees) of the lightest-weight cottons, often trimmed in gold, dance masks, baskets and rugs.

**A** HALF day's drive north from Trivandrum lies Cochin, Kerala's old port city and the gem of the coast.

A port with a history so rich and a setting so perfect that it could make a vacation destination in itself, Cochin — and adjacent Ernakulam — reflects the essence of Kerala: facing the sea with eyes open to the world. Cochin houses India's oldest Jewish settlement and last remaining Jewish neighborhood. It also has Syrian Christian churches whose beliefs (but not buildings) date from the first century, and later Roman Catholic and Dutch Protestant chapels that add to the cosmopolitan air-

chitectural feel of the town. There are warehouses, offices and spice factories several centuries old, and a 16th-century Portuguese-built, Dutch-remodeled palace, the Mattancherry. Formerly the home of the Rajah of Cochin, it is now a very pleasant small museum.

Old Cochin is a busy, noisy town, but it is possible to walk around parts of it, including the waterfront near St. Francis Church, the oldest church erected by Europeans in India. A stretch of beach here is chockablock with Chinese fishing nets, raised and lowered by pulleys. Another good neighborhood for walking surrounds the old Cochin Synagogue, built in the 16th century and the center of the last major Jewish community in India.

Kerala's finest spectacles are often stumbled on, and they are mesmerizing. It may be a temple fair and, if you are lucky, one with a procession of decorated elephants. Under the dark tropical sky, crowds of women move arm-in-arm, fragrant flowers wound into their hair, and hundreds of food carts offer treats. The effect is a kind of magic found nowhere else in this vast country.

© 1990 The New York Times

## Where Daily Life Is a Cliff-Hanger

by Isabel Soto

**M**OST Spanish towns faced with Cuenca's need to expand in the 18th century would have spread out along the countryside. But Cuenca, perched on the top of a hill, turned not to the earth but to the sky.

Its improbable solution stands all along that part of the town that clings to the side of the hill and that face the Huécar River: hanging houses.

The flat-fronted dwellings in the Barrio de San Martín, so starkly simple a child could draw them, rise seven or eight towering stories above a ravine and the Huécar to the east. The dwellings, called *cascaños*, or skyscrapers, are entered on the street level from their west-facing fronts, at which point they rise no more than two or three floors. Their closest architectural counterpart is probably the monastic city on Mount Athos in northern Greece.

While the Greek monasteries tower up on brick turrellike edifices, the hanging houses of Cuenca, about 145 kilometers (85 miles) east of Madrid, appear to extend from the rock itself. It is as if the town were trying to outgrow itself, reaching ever higher in an effort to compensate for the ravine below.

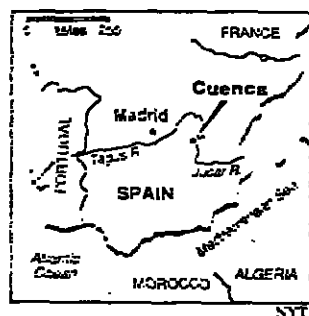
The hanging houses are unadorned and unassuming, an exact reflection of their purpose: homes for ordinary people. The functional having long ago yielded to the aesthetic, they are undergoing restoration in a regionally financed program that aims to preserve the local heritage. The houses, which are part of the old quarter, are reached by walking up the steep, narrow cobbled streets that link the new and old parts of the town.

**A** RICH reward lies at the end of the grueling 15-minute climb: medieval and Renaissance Cuenca, perched atop a gigantic limestone scar surging dramatically between the Júcar and Huécar rivers.

It is hard to say where the old town, the *casco viejo*, begins and the bedrock ends. The new town did not begin to emerge, slowly, until the 18th century, from the huddle of buildings that Cuenca had more or less remained since King Alfonso VIII of Castile wrested the town from Moorish rule in 1177. This expansion came to be known as the *casco moderno*.



A hanging house above the Huécar River in Cuenca.



The Moorish layout of the town is still evident in the narrowness and seeming arbitrariness of the streets that radiate from the Plaza Mayor.

The old town's architectural high spots are gathered around a maze of narrow, cobbled streets. Many lead off the main square, where shops offer a tempting selection of pottery and ceramics from all over Spain — from the cream-glazed earthenware of Júcar to brightly colored ceramic jars of Talavera.

One of the square's finest buildings is the City Hall, dating from the 17th century, with a richly ornate Baroque facade. Also of interest is the triple-apsed 12th-century cathedral.

There is a cluster of hanging houses close by the cathedral at the northernmost part of town that are clearly distinguishable from the skyscrapers by virtue of

their location, function and appearance. These houses, reputedly of noble origin, acquired somewhat ornate wooden cantilevered balconies in their first reconstruction in the 1920s and today accommodate one of Cuenca's finest restaurants, the Mesón Casas Colgadas, as well as the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español.

Works by Spain's leading abstract artists (Eduardo Chillida, Fernando Zobel, Antonio Saura, Antoni Tàpies) are displayed to perfection in a 15th-century building. The museum, restored and coaxed into a worthy setting for the works by the small founding group of artists, itself is a work of art. The museum was chosen European Museum of the Year in 1980 by the European Council. The museum is run by the Fundación Juan March, and offers in addition to the paintings an art library and archives on Spain's abstract artists.

Nearby, the Mesón Casas Colgadas offers spectacular views over the Huécar ravine; its parent restaurant, the Fígón de Pedro, is in the modern quarter. Both are decorated in traditional Castilian style, combining whitewashed walls with rustic folk-art features such as ceramics, exposed wooden beams and antique household utensils.

Traditional starters make full use of local produce. *Morteruelo*, served hot, is a rich but surprising-

ly digestible pâté of hare, porridge, *jamon serrano* (a Spanish cousin of Parma ham), pig's liver, all puréed together with a large, flat loaf of bread traditionally baked in small towns and villages. It is much less compact than most other pâtés and chunks of bread may be dipped into it or it can be eaten with a spoon.

*Ajo arnero* is another local pâté, made with mashed potato, shredded salt cod, egg and blanched garlic.

*Mojete* combines baked red peppers, peeled and torn into strips, with shredded salt cod. The ingredients are liberally doused with olive oil.

Although the Spanish are a nation of enthusiastic fish eaters and good, fresh fish is available everywhere, Cuenca specializes in meat and game, and it should be tried. A favorite is milk-fed lamb, roasted or charcoal-grilled in the form of succulent tiny cutlets, *chuletillas*, often with the kidney left on.

The Fígón offers those with more curious palates such culinary innovations as loin of venison with raspberry sauce.

**A** FULL-BODIED red Rioja wine, such as the excellent Vina Ardanza, is a good accompaniment, with the venison and the other dishes. Desserts reveal an Arab influence, especially in *alajú*, a type of nougat whose chief ingredients are honey and hazelnuts. *Alajú* is best accompanied by *resolú*, local Moorish origins, a potent local combination of dry brandy, sugar, orange peel, cinnamon and coffee.

Spring is one of the best times to visit Cuenca, when the surrounding countryside bursts into color. It is also, of course, the time when the town celebrates Easter.

Cuenca's Holy Week is deeply imbued with the Spanish sense of Catholicism and lacking the almost pagan revelry and excesses that typify the celebrations in Seville. It is preceded by an annual Festival of Religious Music, held in the San Miguel church overlooking the Júcar. Hotel reservations should be made months in advance for that time of year.

Cuenca's natural setting, the rugged but rich woodland surroundings, invite long walks. Eight miles northeast is the Enchanted City, with fantastic rock formations that resemble houses, palaces, squares and streets.

© 1990 The New York Times

## Terezín

Continued from page 7

the ingenuousness of a clumsy translation: "Their reminiscences and their dreams, which did not always come true, are alive in their drawings even nowadays."

One section was devoted to the boys who lived in building L-417-1. With the help of their adult supervisor, Valtr Eisinger, they secretly published a magazine called *Vedem* (We Lead). It appeared weekly until the autumn of 1944, when the entire group was sent to Auschwitz. The editor was a 14-year-old boy named Petr Ginz. A photograph of Petr showed an awkward adolescent with a shy, buck-toothed smile, a cowlick of dark hair falling over his forehead.

The following morning I made the hour-plus trip to Terezín, taking the bus from the Fucikova station in Prague. The town was founded at the end of the 18th century on the order of Emperor Joseph II, who named it Theresienstadt, after his mother, Maria Theresa. At that time Bohemia and Moravia were part of the Habsburg domains, and Theresienstadt was built as a fortress against the Prussians. Two sets of fortifications were constructed: a larger one, which became a free royal town, and a smaller outpost called Little Fortress.

By the beginning of the 20th century, Theresienstadt had fallen into insignificance, but the Little Fortress was converted into a military prison. Its most notorious inmates were the Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip, who assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo in 1914, and two of his confederates in the plot. By the end of the war they helped to launch all three had died in Theresienstadt of tuberculosis.

Today, the Little Fortress is the site of a national cemetery and memorial for the victims of Terezín. During the Nazi occupation, the Gestapo used the fortress as a prison for political prisoners. Most of the inmates were Czechs, but in the course of the war, resis-



By Edita Fischlová, in 1944 at age 12. She survived Terezín.

tance fighters from Slovakia, Poland, France, Italy, Yugoslavia and other countries were brought there, as well as Jews in the Terezín ghetto who had been accused of petty offenses.

Roaming through the prison blocks, I felt like a voyeur peering into the misery of other people. Yet some things are almost impossible to imagine. A tiny cell, with a single wooden bunk — where did the 12 people who were once imprisoned in it stand, where did they sleep? A long underground tunnel emerged onto a quiet patch of grass. Here, on May 2, 1945 — six days before Soviet troops arrived — 51 boys and girls, members of a clandestine youth group, were put up against the fortress wall and shot. I ate lunch in a small restaurant near the entrance to the prison, and learned later that this building had been the SS officers' canteen.

A bridge over the River Ohre

leads from the Little Fortress to the town of Terezín. Before the war the population had been about 7,000, but by 1942 almost 60,000 Jews were crammed into the ghetto. During the autumn of that year the camp was hit by epidemics of various diseases and almost 100 people died each day. But the Terezín that greeted me was a quiet, dusty provincial borough, a place of little laughter and much forgetting. The only reminder I could find was an unobtrusive plaque on a Neo-Classical building just off the main square, the former L-417-1, where Petr Ginz and Valtr Eisinger spent their last months before being sent to die at Auschwitz.

At first the dead of Terezín were buried in a hollow outside the town walls, but in October 1942, at the height of the epidemics, the Nazis forced the prisoners to build a crematorium nearby. From the outside, the building vaguely re-

sembled a church; but inside, in place of pews, are four massive black ovens.

While I gazed at one of the trolleys, my imagination drifted back to the children's drawings in Prague, and to one watercolor in particular, by a girl named Helga Polláková. She would have been about 14 when she came to Terezín. It was a hunk of a painting: brown twigs, green stems and leaves, a red splash for the sun, set down in vivid brush strokes against a white background. The composition was strikingly light and airy, and I thought that perhaps, while painting it, Helga had briefly floated above the reality that would soon claim her.

The image evaporated, and I was left staring at the cold black iron of the trolley.

Michael Balter is a free-lance writer living in Paris.

## Biman opens up exotic Asia

Fly Biman and rediscover Asia. Asia — rich in splendour, colour and variety. Asia where civilisations meet, traditions are built, histories made. Biman flies you to the key

destinations in South, South East Asia. Be with us and enjoy our unique hospitality — not to mention our delicious cuisine, inflight movies and a lot more.



**Biman BANGLADESH AIRLINES**  
Your home in the air













### Thursday's Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. *Via The Associated Press*

12 Month High Low Stock Div Yld PE Sls 100s High Low & P.M. Crpt

170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

B		C	
1000	1000	1000	1000
1001	1001	1001	1001
1002	1002	1002	1002
1003	1003	1003	1003
1004	1004	1004	1004
1005	1005	1005	1005
1006	1006	1006	1006
1007	1007	1007	1007
1008	1008	1008	1008
1009	1009	1009	1009
1010	1010	1010	1010
1011	1011	1011	1011
1012	1012	1012	1012
1013	1013	1013	1013
1014	1014	1014	1014
1015	1015	1015	1015
1016	1016	1016	1016
1017	1017	1017	1017
1018	1018	1018	1018
1019	1019	1019	1019
1020	1020	1020	1020
1021	1021	1021	1021
1022	1022	1022	1022
1023	1023	1023	1023
1024	1024	1024	1024
1025	1025	1025	1025
1026	1026	1026	1026
1027	1027	1027	1027
1028	1028	1028	1028
1029	1029	1029	1029
1030	1030	1030	1030
1031	1031	1031	1031
1032	1032	1032	1032
1033	1033	1033	1033
1034	1034	1034	1034
1035	1035	1035	1035
1036	1036	1036	1036
1037	1037	1037	1037
1038	1038	1038	1038
1039	1039	1039	1039
1040	1040	1040	1040
1041	1041	1041	1041
1042	1042	1042	1042
1043	1043	1043	1043
1044	1044	1044	1044
1045	1045	1045	1045
1046	1046	1046	1046
1047	1047	1047	1047
1048	1048	1048	1048
1049	1049	1049	1049
1050	1050	1050	1050
1051	1051	1051	1051
1052	1052	1052	1052
1053	1053	1053	1053
1054	1054	1054	1054
1055	1055	1055	1055
1056	1056	1056	1056
1057	1057	1057	1057
1058	1058	1058	1058
1059	1059	1059	1059
1060	1060	1060	1060
1061	1061	1061	1061
1062	1062	1062	1062
1063	1063	1063	1063
1064	1064	1064	1064
1065	1065	1065	1065
1066	1066	1066	1066
1067	1067	1067	1067
1068	1068	1068	1068
1069	1069	1069	1069
1070	1070	1070	1070
1071	1071	1071	1071
1072	1072	1072	1072
1073	1073	1073	1073
1074	1074	1074	1074
1075	1075	1075	1075
1076	1076	1076	1076
1077	1077	1077	1077
1078	1078	1078	1078
1079	1079	1079	1079
1080	1080	1080	1080
1081	1081	1081	1081
1082	1082	1082	1082
1083	1083	1083	1083
1084	1084	1084	1084
1085	1085	1085	1085
1086			

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

**For investment**  
read THE  
every Saturday

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list is organized into columns, with names in the first column and addresses in the second column.

[illegible]

(Continued on next page)

**NYSE Highs-Lows**[illegible]

## AMEX High-Low

NEW NIGHTS		NEW LOWS	
ATI	Acton/Ce	AmiKitt	Ain't It
AmTr+up ac	Anapelt	Boldy/Intch	Bohoss
Boyouth	Bolof/Pt	Cabot/Intch	Cabot/Intch
Coast/Dist	Cross/At	Laf/Lab	Dax/Intch
Endorse/Int	Ease/Pt	Rechy/Pt	Endorse/Int
Fukia/John	Fed/Intch	Glenn/Ce	Ford/Intch
Jameson/Ht	Frech/Restr	Glenn/Ce	Grubson
MHC Court	Hal/Ce	Harvey/Ce	Harvey/Ce
Koper/Et	Harvey/Ce	Harvey/Ce	Harvey/Ce
Witkin/Pt	No/Ce	Harvey/Ce	Harvey/Ce
Pacific 4750	Parin/Ce	Harvey/Ce	Harvey/Ce
Seven	Rele/Intch	Harvey/Ce	Harvey/Ce
Seoffine	System/Int	Harvey/Ce	Harvey/Ce

**For investment information**

read THE MONEY REPORT  
every Saturday in the JHT

Non-Profit Ph

# WILL

**KYSE**

**Therapy & Counselling**

**For review**

H F

**ED**

—

•

•

100

1. 100

08-12-1964

10

10

1. *Phragmites* spp. *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.

100

— 100 —

11







## MARKET DIARY

## Slowing Economy Pushes Dow Higher

United Press International  
NEW YORK — Stocks gained in moderate trading Thursday on the New York Stock Exchange as investors focused on an improved outlook for U.S. interest rates after some weak economic reports.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which lost 5.69 points on

further after a weak purchasing managers' report Thursday and expected weakness in the employment data for October due out Friday. The Fed dropped short-term rates a quarter point a few days ago after the budget accord was reached.

On the trading floor, Federal National Mortgage was the most active issue, up 1/4 to 28 1/4.

Ford Motor followed, off 1/4 to 27 1/4 in dividend-related trading. Philip Morris was third, up 1/4 to 48.

Schering-Plough was also active, down 1/4 to 43. It was said to be under pressure, partly from a recent campaign by a lawyers' group against the asthma drug Theophylline.

Among other blue chips, AT&T rose 1/4 to 34 1/4, IBM rallied 1 1/4 to 107 1/4, Merck gained 1/4 to 77 1/4, and General Electric rose 1/4 to 52 1/4.

Prior gains in moderate trading on the American Stock Exchange.

The National Association of Securities Dealers composite index gained 0.77 to 330.61.

## N.Y. Stocks

Wednesday, rose 12.62 to close at 2,454.95.

Among broader market gauges, the New York Stock Exchange composite index rose 1.42 to 167.59. Standard & Poor's 500-stock index was up 3.02, at 307.02. The price of an average share rose 25 cents.

Advances led declines by a margin of nearly 3 to 2 on the Big Board, where volume totaled 159.3 million shares, up from 156.1 million on Wednesday.

Analysts said stocks gained on hopes that the Federal Reserve Board would lower interest rates

## German Rate Increase Sends Dollar Lower

NEW YORK — The dollar closed mostly lower in U.S. trading on Thursday, hurt by the Bundesbank's interest rate boost by more than 100 basis points.

"The dollar had a tough little day," said Jack Griffin, a dealer for Banque Indosuez in New York.

The U.S. unit gained slightly against the yen, as the Japanese currency was sold off in cross-trading against the Deutsche mark, but was generally weaker elsewhere.

The dollar closed at 1.5046 DM, down from 1.5181 on Wednesday, and at 130.35 yen from 130.14.

The British pound edged up to \$1.9445 from \$1.9435.

The U.S. unit also closed at 1.2735 Swiss francs, down from 1.2855, and at 5.0445 French francs, down from 5.0840.

The dollar rose in Asian and European trading, boosted by a tech-

nical rebound and worries over helicopter rhetoric in the Middle East conflict.

But shortly before the opening of New York trading, the Bundesbank announced it was raising its Lombard rate to 8.5 percent from 8.0 percent. The dollar reacted immediately by falling sharply against the mark.

The Bundesbank said it lifted the rate to bring it into line with other money-market rates, but economists said the move could lead to a general rise in German interest rates.

Dealers said the move intensified the bearish picture for the dollar and said the currency could soon break through the 1.50 DM level.

"Expectations of a further hike in German interest rates should result in dollar selling for marks," said Makoto Arakaki, assistant manager at Bank of Tokyo in London.

The dollar closed in London at 1.5075 DM, down from Wednesday's close of 1.5167 DM.

## U.S. Says Oil Market Could Be Shut

WASHINGTON — A U.S. government regulator said on Thursday that U.S. oil futures markets could be shut down as a last resort to keep oil prices from spiraling out of control in the event of a war.

The commodity futures trading commissioner, William Albrecht, said that was one of several emergency options being considered if war breaks out.

"There are too many variables," he said. "All we can do is make a list of things that might be done, with the preferred one of keeping the markets open."

Mr. Albrecht's statement unsettled traders on the floor of the New York Mercantile Exchange.

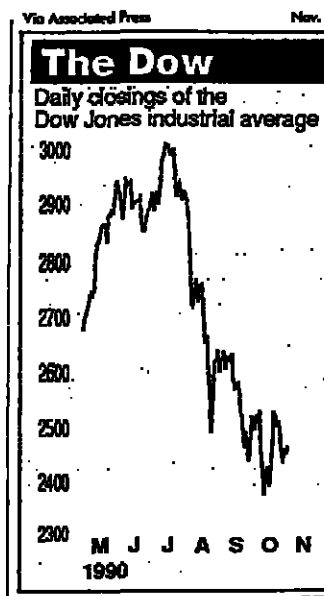
"I'm stunned by the idea," one floor trader said. "It's really quite distressing."

Traders said that a shutdown of futures markets would be a permanent blow to the exchange's reputation, and they doubted it would succeed in dampening speculative price increases.

Critics have blamed speculation in futures markets for the dizzying oil price spiral since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August. Even President George Bush took a swipe at the frenzied markets, warning traders that they could get burned.

Mr. Albrecht mentioned the possibility of closing the markets at a Senate hearing on the impact of futures trading on oil prices.

But he said that the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, which regulates U.S. futures exchanges, had found no evidence of market manipulation and defended the performance of energy futures



Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
3410	27 3/4	27 1/4	27 3/4	+ 1/4
3390	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3380	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3370	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3360	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3350	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3340	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3330	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3320	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3310	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0
3300	27 1/4	27 1/4	27 1/4	0

Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
241.83	242.82	241.59	242.51	+12.62
241.83	242.82	241.59	242.51	+12.62



## NASDAQ

Thursday's Prices  
NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time. These prices are compiled by the AP, consist of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

High Low Open Close

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

## AMEX

Thursday's Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

High Low Open Close

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100

100 100 100 100



## China Lifts Price Of Sugar by 58%

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — China's cash-starved government on Thursday launched its first round of major price rises since panic-buying two years ago forced the communist authorities to impose a freeze to curb inflation.

State-controlled sugar prices rose nationwide by 58 percent, the State Price Administration said.

The cost of salt, coal and gasoline has risen in recent weeks. Word is sweeping Beijing that electricity and water will soon cost more.

An administration official said price rises on other subsidized commodities were likely.

Beijing residents rushed to the shops on Thursday to snap up cotton cloth and clothing, driven by rumors that prices would soon rise sharply, perhaps double.

Diplomats said the government

was confident that the increases would not trigger urban unrest because inflation was down, wages were up and memories were still fresh of the crackdown on prodemocracy protests in June 1989.

"With only 100 yuan (\$21.20) a month salary and prices going up, it's hard to live," said one shopper. But although ordinary Chinese bewailed the sudden rise, Western analysts hailed it as a long overdue step for the economy.

"It's obviously a very good move," said a Western diplomat. "These heavy subsidies have been a drag on the government budget."

State subsidies to debt-ridden enterprises and in the form of artificially low prices for food and energy cost the government more than one third of its annual budget.

Subsidized prices are well below true market prices. "It's logical to reduce that differential," said a foreign economist. He thought the timing was good because savings were high and wages had risen. "It won't hurt people so much to raise prices now," he said.

The State Statistics Bureau said earlier this week that wages climbed 9.6 percent in the first nine months of 1990, the highest growth rate since 1987. Inflation had fallen to around 3 percent.

Last week a government official said state-controlled grain prices would be raised for urban consumers for the first time since the communists took power 41 years ago.

Earlier this year, the State Administration said prices of coal, electricity, cotton, farming materials, medical and education services would be "straightened out."

In another development, the commerce minister, Hu Ping, was quoted Thursday as saying that the root cause of a sluggish consumer market in China was the manufacture of too many products that nobody wants.

Mr. Hu, speaking to China Daily before he left for a visit to Japan, said, "Only through the continuous development of new marketable products can we push the slow market forward now and keep it going forward in the future."

Some 174.8 billion yuan in industrial products was reported to have been stockpiled in May.

(Reuters, AFP)

## Japan to Buy Soviet Space Technology

TOKYO — Tokyo Engineering Corp. said Thursday that it had purchased technology for manned space stations from the Soviet Science & Industry Corp., in the first import of Soviet space technology.

Toyo officials said the technological package for human dwelling in space stations included temperature and humidity-control systems and ways to remove harmful gases.

Company officials refused to disclose the licensing fees. They said the purchase of Soviet space technology was in line with the company's plan to diversify its operations from petrochemical plant engineering to manned space stations.

The company set up a special task force for space engineering in April, they said.

Mr. Alfred Shestakov, deputy minister of the Soviet Machine Building Ministry, said in March that the Soviet Union was ready to provide Japan with space technology.

## Cathay Plans Talks With Dan-Air

Reuters

HONG KONG — Hong Kong's flag carrier, Cathay Pacific Airways Ltd., said Thursday that it was interested in buying all or part of the aircraft-servicing arm of Britain's Dan-Air charter flight operator.

Karina Leung, Cathay's public relations manager, said Cathay was interested in Dan-Air Engineering Ltd., which runs Dan-Air's hangar facilities at London's Gatwick Airport. Cathay flies twice daily to Gatwick from Hong Kong.

"We think it would be useful for our servicing and for expanding operations of Hong Kong Aircraft Engineering Co.," she said. Cathay and Hong Kong Aircraft Engineering are controlled by Swire Pacific, Dan-Air by Davies & Newman Holdings.

Ms. Leung said that Cathay planned to meet Dan-Air officials for discussions.

She declined to estimate the value of a possible

deal with Dan-Air. Airline industry sources in Hong Kong said cash-strapped Dan Air would be likely to ask up to £25 million (\$48.6 million) for sale of the engineering company.

Although Gatwick is its main engineering base, Dan-Air also has a smaller operation in Manchester, where Cathay also flies. Ms. Leung declined to say if the Manchester facility would be included in talks with Dan-Air.

The talks come at a time when Cathay is under some financial pressure, having reported disappointing earnings for the latest half and feeling the effects of higher oil prices.

Cathay, widely considered one of Asia's strongest airlines, reported in August that it had after-tax profit of 1.42 billion Hong Kong dollars (\$182.3 billion) in the six months ended June 30, up about 4.4 percent from the year-earlier period. Analysts had expected midyear profit growth of between 7 to 10 percent.

## BANKS: Profit Slide Expected by Japan Institutions

(Continued from first finance page)

global liquidity problem that has been developing will continue," he said.

Unrealized gains from securities transactions have in recent years been used to bolster the banks' balance sheets. The decline in share prices has therefore hit the banks hard, cutting the stock gains for the major Japanese city banks by about 25 percent since March alone.

Clive Westwood, Dunkey, of Barclays de Zoete Wedd, said "we do not see much more deterioration ahead unless the stock market col-

lapses again." But he warned that developments in the Gulf crisis and world economy drive remained huge uncertainties. "We are well aware of what the risks are."

Higher interest rates have also driven up the cost of capital for the banks and depressed lending business. Their large exposure to the fragile property market domestically as well as in the United States and in Britain has raised fears about existing loans.

This has happened at a time when the banks are seeking to meet tough new global capital adequacy rules

set by the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, Switzerland. Though the 8 percent ratio of capital to risk-weighted assets does not have to be met until March 1993, the Japanese institutions have been forced to become more profit-conscious rather than fighting for market share by aggressively buying assets and providing cheap loans.

Between 1986 and 1989, the average return on assets of Japanese banks was 0.34 percent as opposed to 0.47 percent for U.S. banks and 0.56 percent for British banks.

Despite the new profit consciousness, analysts said it will be some time before new, higher margin business begins to show on the bottom line. Moreover, if securities markets continue to decline and the banks are unable to sell assets at a reasonable price, profits and the capital ratio will continue to suffer.

The Japanese vice minister of finance, Makoto Utsuni, said Thursday that he had "no concern" about the ability of Japanese banks to meet the timetable laid down by the BIS rules.

The analysts agreed, but said they faced difficult months ahead. "It is crazy, unsustainable, to have a bank whose underlying position swings up and down with the equity market," said Mr. Utsuni.

Despite the problems faced by the Japanese banks, however, the analysts warned against too much pessimism.

## INVEST: Japan Spending to Fall

(Continued from first finance page)

extended period, the cost to corporations of raising funds will rise because they will have to rely more on bank lending, the report said.

The Nikkei-225 stock index closed at 24,295.10 on Thursday, down more than a third from its peak last December of 39,000.

Because of its stock market traditions, the Japanese market has been a much more efficient generator of capital in recent years than the American stock market.

Japanese shares are much more highly priced, relative to earnings, than U.S. shares and pay much lower dividends. Until the start of the market decline this year, those

two factors have allowed Japanese corporations to tap the market with much greater frequency than their Western counterparts.

In the two years following the Oct. 17, 1987, world stock market collapse, for example, Japanese banks were able to raise \$22 billion in capital in order to satisfy the new international standards on bank capital adequacy. Over the same period, American banks were able to raise only \$5.7 billion in new equity.

The advisory panel proposed that the government bear in mind the possibly negative effects of the Gulf crisis on domestic prices and ensure stability in capital and financial markets.

(Reuters, AFP)

## News Corp. Debt Scares Investors

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SYDNEY — Shares in News Corp. and Adelaide Steamship Co. slumped Thursday as investors continued to abandon highly geared stocks, dealers said.

News Corp. fell 66 cents, or 13 percent, from Wednesday's close to finish at 4.50 Australian dollars (\$3.52) after earlier touching 4.25 dollars, the lowest level since early 1986. Adelaide shed another 22 cents, or 17 percent, to 1.06 dollars after touching 1.05 dollars.

News Corp.'s shares have fallen from 10.45 dollars since late September due to investor concern over its debt of 10.5 billion dollars, which compares with net assets of 11.34 billion dollars.

Thursday's fall wiped some 150 million dollars off the market value of News Corp.

Adelaide's price has dropped from 6.60 dollars earlier this year, and from 1.76 dollars on Tuesday when the managing director John Spalvins announced plans to reduce group debt.

News Corp.'s shares have fallen from 10.45 dollars since late September due to investor concern over its debt of 10.5 billion dollars, which compares with net assets of 11.34 billion dollars.

Thursday's fall wiped some 150 million dollars off the market value of News Corp.

Adelaide's price has dropped from 6.60 dollars earlier this year, and from 1.76 dollars on Tuesday when the managing director John Spalvins announced plans to reduce group debt.

News Corp.'s shares have fallen from 10.45 dollars since late September due to investor concern over its debt of 10.5 billion dollars, which compares with net assets of 11.34 billion dollars.

Thursday's fall wiped some 150 million dollars off the market value of News Corp.

Adelaide's price has dropped from 6.60 dollars earlier this year, and from 1.76 dollars on Tuesday when the managing director John Spalvins announced plans to reduce group debt.

News Corp.'s shares have fallen from 10.45 dollars since late September due to investor concern over its debt of 10.5 billion dollars, which compares with net assets of 11.34 billion dollars.

Thursday's fall wiped some 150 million dollars off the market value of News Corp.

Adelaide's price has dropped from 6.60 dollars earlier this year, and from 1.76 dollars on Tuesday when the managing director John Spalvins announced plans to reduce group debt.

Investor's Asia				
<p>1990 1991 1993</p>		<p>1990 1991 1993</p>		<p>1990 1991 1993</p>
Exchange	Index	Points	Prev. Close	% Change
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	2968.74	2990.96	-0.74
Singapore	Straits Times	1133.69	1153.95	-1.76
Sydney	All Ordinaries	1503.04	1527.20	-1.62
Tokyo	Nikkei 225	24295.16	25194.10	-3.57
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	486.66	491.71	-1.23
Bangkok	SET Composite	571.48	568.19	+0.58
Seoul	Composite	563.34	590.16	-3.96
Taipei	Weighted Index	3139.88	3318.53	-5.38
Manila	Composite	Closed	609.85	
Jakarta	Stock Index	670.65	670.89	-0.04
New Zealand	Borصة	1218.94	1300.34	-6.01
Bombay	Composite	954.87	940.96	+1.47



# The Netherlands

## Honest Burghers Sigh Over Virtues' Decline

By Peter Brusse

**A**MSTERDAM — Holland is a rich and prosperous country. The Dutch look healthy and they can expect to live a long life. But this autumn Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers said in a major speech that "Holland is a sick country."

Where on earth, I thought, would a successful and popular prime minister, who has ruled the country for seven years and could go on for over, state so openly and solemnly that his people were ill? Wasn't he himself responsible for this state of affairs? Wasn't he himself to blame for the national disease?

He evoked no more than a small outcry as if proof that indeed the Dutch lacked health and energy to fight his words. Mr. Lubbers touched a sensitive cord. The Dutch are troubled. They seem to have lost a sense of direction and they do not know where to go. Their self-confidence was shaken when the national soccer team was unceremoniously kicked out of the World Championships in Italy last summer.

Europe is changing fast and 1992 is near. KLM is flying low and Philips is dimming its lights. Are we really the new sick man of Europe?

The prime minister spoke of an erosion of moral values, and one might have thought that he was referring to a sickening decline of our prosperity, crime, strikes and corruption and

of a collapse of authority or the very fabric of society itself.

Nothing of the kind. Mr. Lubbers warned against the high number of people who feel unfit to work, the dropouts, petty crime and hooliganism.

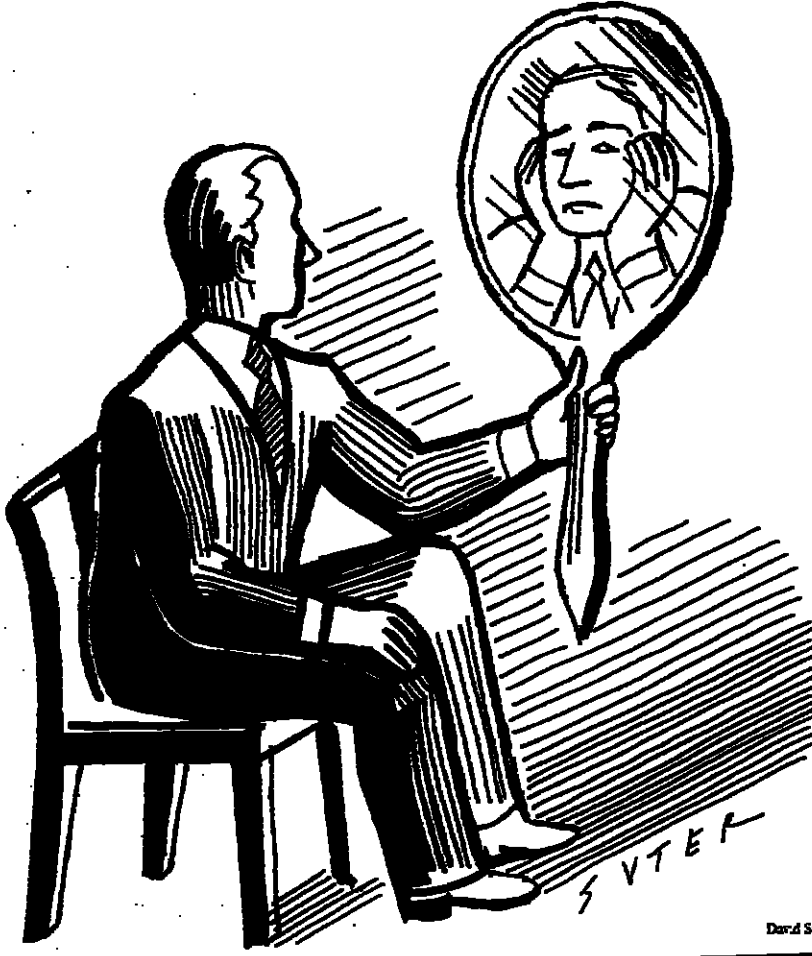
Of course, it is very irritating to have one's bicycle stolen once a month, to fall over aggressive layabouts in the street, but compared to the problems of the world outside, it is small fry.

It is not in the nature of the Dutch to introduce harsh and authoritarian measures. We want moral persuasion, at home and abroad, because our history has taught us that our weakness is our strength. We are a small country surrounded by big powers. Due to our lack of political and physical strength, we want to reason. Aldous Huxley, on a visit, once called Holland "a haven to the rationalist."

Holland is a small and overorganized country with an often surrealistic inclination toward honest bourgeois coziness. We distrust drama, theater and passion; our cities lack big squares for parades and processions, and we don't honor our heroes.

The American historian Barbara Tuchman compared George Washington, "my example of the true hero," to "this earlier revolutionary hero," William the Silent of the Netherlands, who is supposed to have said at one time, it is not necessary to hope in order to persevere.

Continued on page 18



## Dutch Learn to Live With a German Giant

Trade Link Altering Hostile Attitudes

By Henry Tanner

**A**MSTERDAM — The Netherlands is feeling the impact of German reunification and the opening up of Eastern Europe more deeply than

most other European countries. For many Dutchmen, the sight of their giant neighbor getting even bigger and more dominant is a highly personal and emotional experience — for reasons of history, geography and an almost total economic dependence.

Early this year, when a sample of Dutch men and women were asked by a polling institute whether they liked the Germans, 56 percent of them said "yes." When they were asked whether they thought the Dutch liked the Germans, 54 percent of them answered "no."

Contradictory as it seemed, the verdict was an accurate reflection of Dutch attitudes, according to Dutchmen and foreigners.

"As a decent Dutchman, you must not like the Germans; this is a moral imperative and part of a collective national memory left by the war and the Nazi occupation, which was more brutal here than in other countries," a German diplomat in The Hague said.

But "awful as their experience was, the resentment that generations of Dutchmen have felt is waning, at least at the personal level," he said, because the mutual exposure has become so great that "there is virtually no Dutchman left who has not come to know us through business, travel or friends."

His point appeared to be borne out by a prominent young politician, a member of parliament, who said that until recently he had never traveled through Germany but took the long detour through France even when going to Switzerland or Austria. "I just couldn't face them," he said of the Germans, but added that he has changed his habits because he no longer has the same strong feelings.

Germany was the Netherlands' most important economic partner long before reunification. Now, as their enormous weight keeps growing within Europe, the influence of the Germans threatens to become overwhelming, according to some Dutchmen.

Almost 30 percent of Dutch exports went to West Germany before reunification. The figure for imports and exports combined was about 25 percent. The Netherlands is Germany's second biggest trading partner after France.

Known as the "gateway to Europe," the Netherlands is first of all a gateway to Germany. Rotterdam is "Germany's biggest port," handling more German trade than Hamburg.

Thousands of Dutch firms have prospered as transit agents, distributors, banks and other intermediaries involved in German trade. Many others are tied to the big German industrial concerns as manufacturers of component parts and in other specialized roles.

"We depend on them in all sorts of ways; we are their biggest vegetable garden and their largest flower bed," a journalist said. Dutch fishing fleets have their biggest outlet in Germany.

"We have become so much smaller because they are so much bigger now," a politician said about reunification.

The Dutch are praying for the success of West Germany's economic takeover of East Germany, he said. "We fret about German inflation and interest rates, to which we are tied. If their investment in the East pays off, we will benefit; if they fail, we will suffer even more than they."

But some see a possible windfall. They say that the Europeans most closely linked to the German economy — Swiss and Austrians as well as Dutch — are likely to benefit from German expansion.

A leading banker took an undramatic view. East Germany adds 10 percent to the gross national product of West Germany and one-third to its population, he said, "that is major but not overwhelming."

Dutch planners estimate that Dutch exports to Germany will grow by 2 percent as a result of reunification, in addition to the expected "normal" increase of 4 percent for West Germany alone.

Some of the additional exports will not go to East Germany but to West German markets where local industries, straining to export to the East, may not be able to meet demand.

The Netherlands is well placed geographically to take advantage of increased demand in northeastern Europe, but there are worries as well, including the fear that Hamburg will draw trade away from Rotterdam.

For Dutch financial experts, the most pressing question is how the Germans pay for reunification.

"Bonn lost a golden opportunity a year ago" when it failed to make a realistic estimate of

Continued on page 18

## Timmer's 'Shock' Cure May Be Last Chance for Philips

By Sara Henley

**A**MSTERDAM — A purge is president Jan Timmer's cure for Philips NV, the pioneering Dutch electronics concern that sank from grace after a forecasting blunder last May. When he announced 45,000 to 55,000 job cuts across the board last week, Mr. Timmer admitted how seriously overweight the inventor of the audio cassette and the compact disc has become.

The forecasting error by Cox van der Klugt, Mr. Timmer's predecessor, stunned markets and plunged the \$27 billion company into crisis.

It was a disaster for Philips, which had fiddled lines of communication to the highest level. Shipping about 20 million units of compact discs to Japan, for example, was a major blunder.

Philips shares today cost around 20 guilders (about \$12), less than one-third of their net asset value.

"This is their last chance," said Eleanor Buss of London brokers Robert Fleming. "They have made so many mistakes in the past and they made a huge one in May."

Mr. Timmer launched a restructuring program immediately after taking over on July 1. The 9,400 job cuts involved at the time were only a beginning.

Last week's announcement broke sharply with the tradition of previous presidents who had taken a gradual approach to reorganization and management change. By July 1, Philips' management was not exempt. Mr. Timmer's Philips, fierce critics head-on. By selling Philips' 285,000 staff that up to one

in five might be out by the end of 1991, he forced them to shoulder a burden that shareholders had mainly carried in the past.

His "culture shock" involves getting staff to take direct personal responsibility rather than leaning on the back-passing structure of multi-layered management. He took simple revenue per employee as the basic criterion of how many jobs must go. In 1989, each Philips worker was generating about \$88,000, less than half the level in major Japanese concerns.

Assuming that next year's total revenue matches 1989's \$26.9 billion, cuts of 55,000 staff would boost Philips' earnings by over 30 percent. Though slimmer, it would still be behind the competition.

This "critical self-examination" is sharpening truths once discreetly blurred. In a highly competitive climate, where the weak dollar and

yen are knocking sales revenue and European rivals are increasingly forging alliances to survive, Philips' potential tie-up with Italy's Olivetti foundered in June. Olivetti's Bruno Lamborghini reportedly said this was because "It wasn't clear what Philips wanted."

Philips has been slow to follow the trend to boil down its organization to core activities. In product development, it has tended to put technical innovation above marketing. The compact disc, a Philips' invention, was claimed by Japan's Sony because the Dutch group was slow in developing the market. And its 2000 video cassette, which had an excellent picture quality, failed because it was too costly.

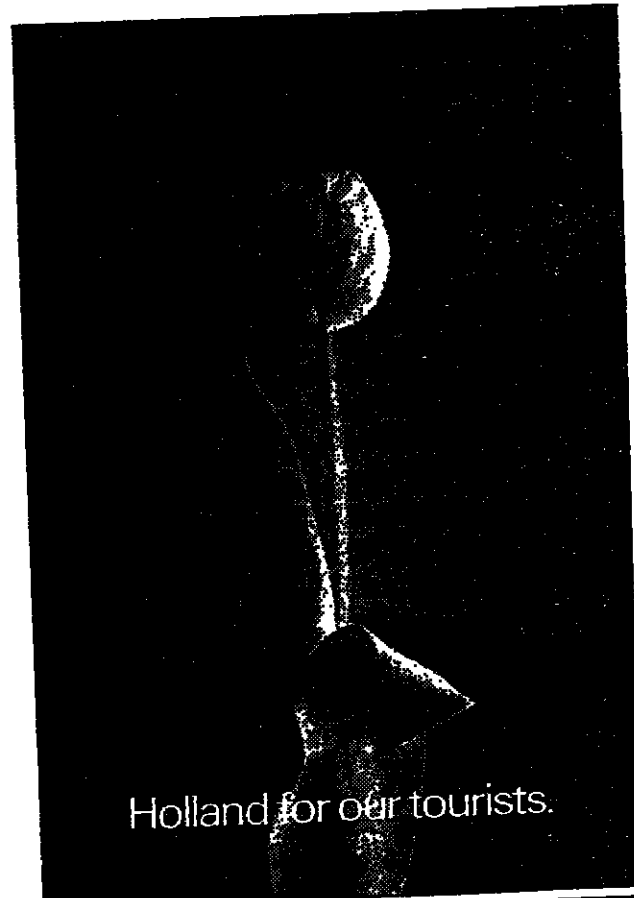
SARA HENLEY is a journalist based in Amsterdam.

## The shortest link between old and new Amsterdam

New issues  
Corporate finance  
Investment management  
Stockbroking  
International custody  
Trust management  
Private banking  
Treasury

PIERSON, HELDRING & PIERSON  
Merchant Bankers since 1875

Headoffice, Rokin 55, Amsterdam, P.O. Box 243, 1000 AE Amsterdam. Tel. 020-5211188. Telex: 16383. Telecopier: 020-258164.



Holland for our tourists.



Holland for our customers.

Tourists tend to think of Holland as that quaint little country by the sea. Famous for its brightly colored tulips, wooden shoes and cheese.

Our international business customers, however, know that there's another side to the Netherlands. They're familiar with us as the Gateway to Europe. As the traditional center of trade and distribution.

Information is one of the most important "goods and services" being exchanged today. And PTT Telecom Netherlands is one of the leading international information carriers.

We offer internationally oriented business customers a complete range of voice, text, data and video communications services. From basic transmission facilities and leased lines to extensive European networks and professional round-the-clock network management. From convenient value-added services to sophisticated satellite and mobile facilities, services and equipment.

Advanced technology and a high-quality infrastructure provide a solid basis for fast, reliable telecommunications. Backed up by a number of traditional values for which we Dutch are also famous. Values such as a flexible, customer oriented approach. And a pragmatic, down-to-earth attitude.

Together, these qualities make it possible for us to offer our internationally operating customers comprehensive solutions to their business communications needs. Solutions which are not only efficient, but surprisingly cost-effective as well.

At PTT Telecom Netherlands, our core business is national and international telecommunications. We would be pleased to discuss what we can do to help your company meet its communications needs. Now and in the future. Leaving you free to concentrate on your own core business.

For more information, simply contact our International Sales and Consultancy Department by calling + 31 70 343 37 85.

ptt telecom  
netherlands

International by nature



## Jumpy Market Handicaps Amsterdam Reform Effort

Special to the IHT

**A**MSTERDAM — Like other stock exchanges around the world, Amsterdam's has recently been languishing in the throes of a depressed, jumpy and bearish market after several years of bullish growth.

This has not helped the impact of the latest changes on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange around July 1, which are aimed at bolstering its competitive position and, in particular, at clawing back some of the huge chunk of Dutch state bond trading siphoned off by London.

An estimated 80 percent of Dutch state bond trading takes place outside the exchange. The changes include the abolition of the stock exchange tax, introducing late trading in a wider range of stocks from June 1, scrapping the fixed minimum commissions system and introducing an open order book for bond trading, as well as a monthly register of bond trading transactions between stock exchange members and foreign professionals.

Fixed seven-day settlement trials began earlier in the year in February. These moves are in line with recommendations by the Amsterdam Financial Center initiative group report in March 1989, aimed at creating a level playing field in which both the securities and derivatives markets are internationally competitive.

Scraping the stock exchange tax marks an undisputed competitive improvement, reducing the cost of investing in securities. Andre Tescu, general manager of Barclays in Amsterdam, says it has made trading procedures easier and has helped shift bond transactions back to Amsterdam, making for a more active Amsterdam Interprofessional Market System block trading here. Most important perhaps, he says, is that Amsterdam is now competitive with London in the most active state bonds.

The stock exchange spokesman, Hermann de Ranitz, says it is too early to measure the effects of the other measures, "and the bad market is a handicap in evaluation. The market's up and down like a yo-yo on every fresh rumor; this makes it very difficult, everything's under pressure."

But he says that London is now handicapped by its lack of a central market. "There's no reference price, which institutional investors need. Prices are made in Amsterdam," he adds.

Not that Amsterdam has any pretensions of challenging the might of London. As Mr. De Ranitz says, "We have never denied that we are a relatively small market in absolute terms. But relative to the Netherlands' GNP, we are the second-largest European bourse after London. Our aim is to remove costs differences with London as far as possible, without damaging the retail market."

The exchange is planning high hopes on its coupling of the new open order book dealers market (quote-driven) system with the existing auction market (order-driven) system on which its HOS Trade Support System is based. It says the unique feature is that price-fixing (at the level at which the greatest volume of transactions can be generated) in the auction market is coupled with price-fixing in the open order book market through the dual role played by the *hoekman* (market specialist).

Although this caused some controversy among bourse members unhappy about the *hoekman*'s dual role, Mr. De Ranitz insists that "bourses everywhere are looking at how we link the wholesale and retail markets to ensure the retail client doesn't fall between two stools — against the trend everywhere toward serving only the wholesale market."

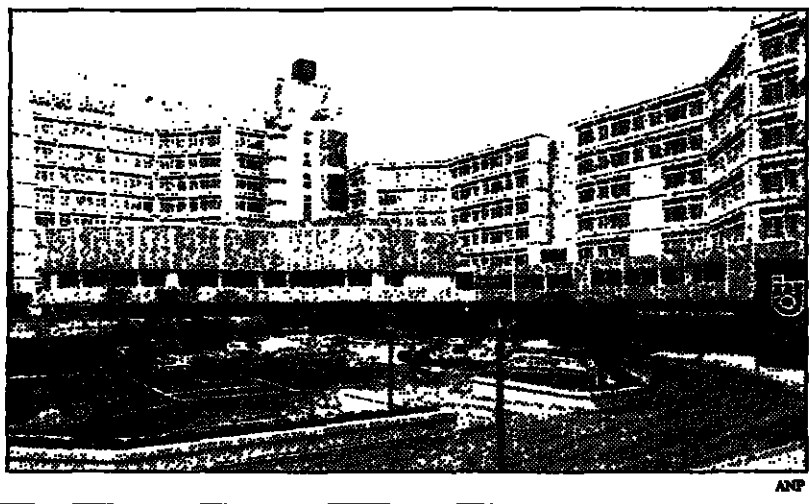
The stockbroker Nora Coers of Theodore Gillissen reports gloomily on the changed market: "Less investment in Dutch stocks, down 30 percent compared with last year; less business generated, and commissions are down too. Our bond dealer complains that there's no more business than before, and says the changes have harmed the institutional side and only benefited the retail clients. But jobbers [*hoekmen*] have benefited. They've become more expensive."

Bert Sterk, an account manager for institutional investors at Pierson, Felding & Pierson, says circumstances are not likely to improve in the next few months, especially while markets are dealing with the Gulf crisis.



## A Milestone in Dutch Banking

The Netherlands' leading banks, Algemeene Bank Nederland and Amro, merged last July, creating a bank with about 400 million guilders in assets and moving into seventh place among global players. The new bank's assets are not far behind Deutsche Bank, Germany's biggest. The merger is the most important in a series of new alliances as Dutch banking readies for post-1992 European integration.



## Sigh for Virtues' Decline

Continued from page 17

That is a wonderful sentiment, it seems to me. William the Silent succeeded, too, although that revolt took 80 years. This little swamp-bound people on the edge of Europe who had really nothing but the land they had created themselves, taking it out of its bogs — this group maintained for 80 years against the most powerful empire of Europe at that period. Extraordinary story, the history of the Dutch."

But we ourselves don't know about that and we are not really interested. Teaching of history in our schools is minimal. There is that all-prevailing expression: "Behave unobtrusively. It is already too extravagant."

Grandeur and glory are not to be found in our vocabulary. In our paintings and books we prefer the intimate and industrious life of ordinary people. Ordinary is not lower or working class, but the average burgher, the heart and mind of the nation.

"The Dutch definition of *sympsoness* is not the wise middle course of the golden mean but more the obsession to crush everything that falls outside acceptable standards, the rejection of any form of adventure, including of the spirit," says the Portuguese scholar Rentes de Carvalho, who has been living in Holland for many years.

"Whether we like it or not, we are all bourgeois," wrote the historian Johan Huizinga, author of "The Waning of the Middle Ages." And this meant, according to Huizinga: "Honesty, a secret receptiveness for rhetoric, an immunity to political extremes and an abhorrence of national self-glorification that goes hand in hand with a certain urge for national self-abnegation."

These bourgeois virtues, dear to Mr. Lubbers' heart, are getting sloppy and so endanger Dutch identity. Bourgeois society, shaped by our Calvinistic principles, made us a safe country in an insane world. We want to be seen as quiet, friendly and reliable. Our Calvinistic principles gave us that 'ideal' combination of the merchant with the Bible in one hand and the purse in the other. And let not the one hand know what the other does."

A good British friend of mine once remarked: "You Dutch are like ducks on a pond, quiet and discreet, but underneath paddling like mad." I haven't heard a better definition yet."

Mr. Lubbers, who has been running that sick country of ours as a trading company, sees too much featherbedding. Yes, even our teachers and judges have gone soft. Not very dramatic, but somehow the balance went wrong. The Bible as shield and inspirator for our wheeled and dealing had worn thin. Complacency was taking over and that is bad for business. We are losing our image as the solid and unobtrusive bourgeois-mercantile."

We have to become Dutch again, like the ducks on the pond or, for that matter, like our most influential thinker, the Renaissance humanist and author of "In Praise of Folly," Erasmus of Rotterdam. He arguably was the first European and never spoke Dutch. Only on his deathbed he did speak his mother tongue; his last words were: "Lieve God" (Dear God), giving away that long-held secret that, after all, God is a Dutchman — something even the sensible Dutch tend to forget."

PETER BRISSE is deputy editor in chief of the Dutch weekly *Elsevier*.

## Life With a German Giant

Continued from page 17

the cost of unification and did not appeal to the German public for a national effort, a banker said. Something like a solidarity tax would have been politically feasible at that time; now it is too late, he thinks.

"Now we have a read-my-lips situation in Bonn," he said. He is afraid that the Germans will resort to a massive increase in their deficit and, inevitably, like the United States in the past, will "export" it to their neighbors.

Dutch interest rates have climbed from 7.8 to 9.1 percent since last December in reaction to an even steeper rise in Germany.

The Dutch are feeling Germany's increasing weight politically as well — in Europe, on East-West issues and bilaterally. More than ever they are looking to the European Community as the institutional framework into which the new Germany must be tied.

European integration is "an absolute priority" for the Netherlands, more so than for anyone else, an official said.

The Netherlands is strongly opposed to the admission of new members to the Europe of the Twelve. "There is momentum in the Community now and it must not be broken," he said, arguing that the problems of adjusting new members could only distract and slow down the Community.

Dutch newspapers and television have been covering the last year's events in Germany "more extensively than any other European country," according to a longtime German resident, who said that the coverage has been "amazingly objective" compared with most Dutch reporting on Germany even a few years ago.

If deep-seated anti-German feelings linger so stubbornly, he said, it is because "two bad dreams come to the average Dutchman's mind whenever he thinks of us — our size and power, and the occupation and its consequences."

The invading German Army put a brutal end to 130 years of Dutch neutrality in 1940, he said; and when the humiliation of the occupation ended, the Dutch found themselves in a new world: "They had lost their empire and their world diminished and because a small country in a changing Europe — suddenly, they blame us."

The Dutch see themselves as consistently good Europeans, but concede that they have always had their backs turned to Europe and looked out toward England and the Atlantic. "Have you noticed how many of us wear dark blue blazers and regimental ties?" asked a Dutchman, wearing a blue blazer.

HENRY TANNER is a columnist for the International Herald Tribune.

## Weak Dollar Aids Growth of Dutch Investments in U.S.

By Mark Fuller

**A**MSTERDAM — Barely the size of the state of Maryland, the Netherlands is one of the largest direct investors in the United States, ranking third behind Britain and Japan. Total cumulative direct investment by Dutch companies there surged to \$60.5 billion in 1989 from \$49 billion in 1988, according to the U.S. Commerce Department. The growth continued in the first half of this year, according to the Nederlandsche Bank, the Dutch central bank.

Dutch companies have been eager to take advantage of the weak dollar, reduced stock prices, comparatively low U.S. interest rates and a decline in the U.S. corporate tax rate.

The Dutch "Big Four" — Philips, Shell, Unilever and Akzo — traditionally are the

country's largest investors in the United States. But their relative importance has diminished as the share of production industries in direct foreign investment has fallen from 90 percent of the national total in the early 1970s to 65 percent, with the share of services industries growing, according to Dutch banking officials.

The biggest growth has been in the insurance sector with investment in the United States rising from \$1.9 billion to \$5.3 billion in the last five years. The top two insurance companies, Nationale Nederlanden and Aegon, have been expanding aggressively.

Nationale Nederlanden's U.S. operations go back over 100 years, but its activity there took off in 1974 when it acquired a 50 percent stake in Pearlless Insurance Co. Since then, the concern has bought virtually one American company every year, with total investment now at \$1.7 billion. Earlier this year, it acquired a 22

percent interest in AIM, a mutual fund management company.

Aegon's U.S. business has grown even more rapidly. Starting in 1979 with a stake in Life Investors of Iowa, it has built up a group of nine insurance companies under the control of Aegon USA, which now generates 32 percent of Aegon's pretax profit and accounts for \$2.8 billion of the company's total revenue of \$7 billion.

"The United States is a buyer's market, prices are low and there are many attractive opportunities to make acquisitions, especially in the savings and loans industry," says Leon Berendsen, a member of the Aegon board.

Dutch investments in the retail sector have also shown a spurt. Ahold, which operates the biggest Dutch supermarket chain, Albert Heijn, began investing in the United States in 1977 when it gained control of South Caroli-

na's Bi-LO supermarket chain. It has since bought Giant Food stores in Pennsylvania and taken an 85 percent stake in First National Supermarkets of Ohio. Ahold's U.S. sales of \$4.3 billion accounted for nearly half the group's total in 1989.

ABP, the Netherlands' largest pension fund with assets of 150 billion, is one of the newcomers. It spent 340 million on stakes in two prestigious office blocks last year and plans further investments this year.

Dutch investment in the United States has evolved over three centuries. After World War II, Dutch investors expanded into mining, food, chemicals, metals, machinery and financial services.

MARK FULLER is a journalist based in Amsterdam.

## Being Dutch is not enough

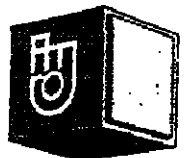
NOT IN INTERNATIONAL BANKING

The Dutch have a worldwide reputation. For being good, astute businessmen. We're proud of this. But we also know that it's just not enough. Not in the world of international banking which grows daily more complex and sophisticated.

Today, AMRO has an international banking capability precisely tuned to institutional, commercial and corporate needs. Indeed, we are built around them.

Why not get in touch and test our competitive edge. We've got all of the Dutch business virtues as well.

**Amro Bank**  
Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank



AMSTERDAM ATHENS BASLE BEIJING BERLIN BERNE BOMBAY BONN BUDAPEST CHICAGO COLOGNE COLOMBO DORTMUND  
DUBAI DUSSELDORF FRANKFURT GENEVA HAMBURG HONGKONG HOUSTON JAKARTA LONDON LOS ANGELES LUXEMBOURG  
MOSCOW MUNICH MUNSTER NETTETAL NEW YORK PARIS SINGAPORE SYDNEY TAIPEI TOKYO TORONTO ZURICH

## FOR A NETTING SYSTEM TO WORK, A BANK HAS TO HAVE A WORKING NETWORK.

Companies with subsidiaries around the world often incur hefty expenses for the periodic settlement of intercompany receivables and payables. Which is why the ABN developed a unique Netting System.

ABN Netting not only provides an intercompany clearing system for debts and claims, thus reducing payment volumes to the minimum, but also gives access to a management information system that allows its users to optimize cash flows, liquidities and foreign exchange risks. All on a same day value basis.

The ABN is capable of offering an advanced Netting Program thanks to its network of almost 1,000 offices spread over more than 45 countries.

It enables the ABN to build sound relations all over the world. Because a bank that knows the world, automatically becomes known throughout the world.

**Bank**

A WORLD OF UNDERSTANDING.

HEAD OFFICE, 32 WELLESSTRAAT, AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS. TELEPHONE (31-20) 29 3249 / 29 4090 / 29 3222.

550 من الأصل



## The Netherlands / A Special Report

# The Cobbled Coalition Proves a Solid Success

## 'Social Solidarity' Tempers Austerity

By Henry Tanner

**T**HE HAGUE—One year after it was laboriously cobbled together, the left-of-center coalition of Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers's Christian Democrats with the Labor Party is still solid and regarded as a success by most of its members if not necessarily the whole country.

The two rival parties and their leaders have learned to cooperate, according to both sides.

Mr. Lubbers, says a leading Labor politician, is accepted as the "kingpin" of the coalition.

Wim Kok, the Labor party leader who gambled his political future on his ability to succeed in the cabinet's most difficult job—as a finance minister trying to balance fiscal rigor with social justice—has been getting favorable notices as a realist and "fiscal moderate" from his coalition partners and some in the conservative opposition.

He has corrected his party's reputation as a lavish spender and has begun to give it once more the image of a responsible government party, which it had all but lost during 12 years in the opposition.

But Labor has paid a high price for its new-found respectability.

Its candidates, far from being rewarded by the electorate, got massacred in the country-wide municipal elections last March.

"People didn't vote for us, they stayed home," said Jacques Wallage, a Labor member of the States General, or parliament, who is deputy minister of education. "We lost a third of our local seats and now we have 500 people telling us, 'See what you have done to us?'"

Labor rank-and-file is in a deep emotional crisis, according to another politician.

Participation was a 61.5 percent, a miserable

figure in this civic-minded country. Labor hopes to do better in next year's regional elections, but some of its officials predict an uphill battle even for the next national election in 1994.

When it replaced the conservative Liberals in Mr. Lubbers's coalition a year ago, Labor agreed to continue the austerity policy that the prime minister had pursued for eight years but insisted that it should be tempered by greater "social solidarity" and a "reconciliation with the poor."

The two new partners agreed that the generous Dutch welfare state, though continued, would not be further expanded but made subject to greater fiscal discipline—enter Mr. Kok as finance minister and deputy prime minister.

One of Labor's demands was to do away, or at least reduce, the widening gap between stagnating public sector wages and social security benefits on the one hand and increasing private sector salaries on the other.

The task is vastly complex, as both coalition parties concede. The country has a huge deficit that must be brought under control. And the welfare system has been so burdened with extravagant expenditures for dubious purposes that many of its aspects must be re-examined. The most frequently cited example are the so-called "disability lists" made up by more than 800,000 persons who claim permanent disability and receive 80 percent of a salary, often lifelong, without being disabled in any real sense.

The lists are still growing. They are one reason why 3.4 million Dutch people, including pensioners, unemployed and genuinely disabled, received an income without working in 1989 while only 4.5 million worked.

The coalition, thus, is faced with the need to



The two leaders, Wim Kok and Ruud Lubbers, are learning to cooperate.

cut down on some welfare costs while at the same time providing more money for the bonafide recipients of social security who have been left behind by the system.

Labor says that it suffers more than its coalition partner from the fact that increased social expenditures in some sectors must be counterbalanced by cuts in others.

Even though the party was punished by the voters in March, Labor officials say that a good beginning toward more social justice has been made during the year as public sector wages and social security now are linked to the minimum wage in private industry.

But "50 extra guilders [about \$30] in the Christmas check from social security is far short of what the poor had hoped for; people don't feel the winds of change yet," said Mr. Wallage.

"The cabinet has no real theme," said another politician, "everybody talks about 'social renewal' and decentralization and about the

need to give new life to the cities and towns but nobody knows what this means in practice."

Last month's budget debate, the parliament's annual review of general government policy, reflected many of these issues but, as usual, dealt more with detail than sweeping concept or bold innovation.

Mr. Lubbers, in an unusually dark mood earlier, had declared: "We must acknowledge that Holland is a sick country." He cited the disability lists and other basic social problems.

A parliamentary correspondent in The Hague said that Mr. Lubbers had wanted to send a warning signal to his countrymen and set the tone for a more probing national debate.

Reflecting this mood, many Dutchmen admit to a feeling of drift and to a growing suspicion that all is not perfect in a country which is still envied by most others as a hugely prosperous, enlightened and civic-minded little paradise.

# Testy 'Sisterhood' Strains Dutch-Flemish Relations

By Geert Mak

**A**MSTERDAM—For centuries the Dutch and the Dutch-speaking Belgians, the Flemish, have had a peculiar love-hate relationship. Historically, the Flemish have had a great influence on Holland. In the early 17th century, the predominant language in wealthy, expanding Amsterdam was not Dutch but the broad Flemish dialect of Antwerp.

Violent repression by the Spanish Inquisition at that time prompted tens of thousands of Flemish merchants, artists and artisans to flee north. So while Holland developed into a full-fledged independent state, free and mighty Flanders was until 1830 a conquered province ruled by successive foreign powers, including for 15 years by the Dutch.

History still shapes the relationship. The Dutch, in their cafes, tell jokes about Belgian naivete and gullibility, but every Dutchman at the same time feels a pang of jealousy for the much more melodious Flemish language. Belgian writers, painters and theatre groups are increasingly successful in Amsterdam.

The Flemish make fun of Dutch avarice and arrogance—not to mention the guttural Dutch "y"—but their expectations of "big sister" Holland nevertheless remain high.

**S**o when their shock was great last April when the Dutch culture minister, Hedy d'Ancona, in a speech read in Brussels, denied that the Netherlands and Flanders belonged to a single cultural entity. "Unity of language does not necessarily imply unity of culture," she said. The speech was read to a meeting of the General Dutch Congress, an organization of 200 Dutch and Flemish cultural and scientific associations by one of her aides. The place—Brussels—the audience and the fact that she had not delivered the statement in person were seen as adding insult to injury.

The Flemish were up in arms. "The Hague's attitude toward the Flemish is degrading and insulting," said Patrick Dewael, culture minister of the Flemish regional government, and similar criticism came from newspapers and other Flemish institutions.

But the question remains whether Mrs. d'Ancona was completely wrong.

Little is left today of the border between the Netherlands and Belgium, except in a few places a very old, medieval, cast-iron border pole standing like an upraised finger in the flat landscape as the cars roar past. The Europe of open borders has been a reality here for decades.

But it is still clear that a border exists. The houses and the streets, the police and the customs officers, look different, and the Flemish landscape has little in common with well-raked, orderly Holland. Even to the superficial spectator, Flanders is part of another country.

But there is a second invisible border a few dozen miles to the south that is at least as important. It is a border that runs through Belgium, from east to west, and divides villages and cities and sometimes nearly identical houses that stand less than a hundred yards apart.

Here the only difference is that in one house the people speak Dutch and in the other French. In one house they have no idea of what happens in the Netherlands. In the other, they watch Dutch television, read Dutch magazines and follow Dutch culture.

To the Flemish, this second border is much more than a language barrier. It is the demarcation line between the culture of southern Europe and that of the Lowlands.

The Dutch, many Flemish often complain, hardly seem to realize this. The Dutch regard Flanders as a sort of doormat on the border to France, says Jeroen Brouwers, a Dutch writer

For the Flemish, their expectations of "big sister" Holland nevertheless remain high.

who lived in Flanders for many years. "The Dutch are much more interested in Germany and France. The Flemish have not only had to struggle against the French-speaking Walloons [in the other part of Belgium] but also against [the indifference of] their 'kindred' Dutch neighbors."

The Flemish, who had to struggle for generations to gain the right to speak their own language in their own country, complain that many Dutchmen still do not realize how strongly the language issue continues to dominate Belgium's cultural, social, political and economic life. And while the French and the French-speaking Walloons see each other as potential allies, many Flemish still believe that the Dutch remain indifferent to their fate.

No wonder then that Mrs. d'Ancona's remarks provoked such a heated debate. Some Dutchmen argue that the attitudes of their countrymen are not based on contempt or lack of interest but on the typically Dutch tendency to underestimate their own culture.

This cultural mini-war was eased in September when, in a new speech in Brussels, Mrs. d'Ancona recognized that Flanders and the Netherlands do have a common culture even though each had developed its own variant over the centuries.

"In Flanders, cultural policy was an instrument in the linguistic struggle for the social, political and cultural emancipation of a people and a future nation," she said, adding that this was never the case in the Netherlands. She conceded that the Dutch cultural elite has often been unimaginative and scornful in its reactions to Flemish aspirations.

With European unification around the corner, the Netherlands and Flanders must improve their cooperation quickly, she said. "Now the Dutch feel the hot breath of powerful cultures on their neck, too."

The applause—and laughter—in Brussels was thunderous. For now, the half-sisters have made peace again.

GEERT MAK is a Dutch journalist in Amsterdam.

# Government Seeks a New Consensus on Environment

By Sara Henley

**A**MSTERDAM—"Our tulips don't all come from Amsterdam anymore," said Bert Ogdel, spokesman for the Dutch farmers' association. "Profitability is so threatened by restrictions on chemical use that some growers are planting the bulbs in France."

"Dutch farmers must be record holders in poisoning it all," remarked Theo Wams, an official of Friends of the Earth. "We have over 100,000 hectares [247,104 acres] of phosphate-saturated soil. That means poisoned groundwater and ruined earth. They are destroying their means of production."

Agriculture is caught in a conflict between short- and long-term aspects of Dutch environmental policy. The government has asked farmers to respond this fall to government

proposals to cut pesticide use by up to 70 percent by the year 2000.

It is now about one-and-a-half years since the government published the European Community's first comprehensive National Environment Policy Plan but then collapsed in a dispute over how to pay for the scheme. The present coalition is seeking a new consensus to maintain the momentum.

The scale of the Dutch problem demands a radical approach.

With as many pigs as people and more cars per head of the population than any country in the world, "the Netherlands is exposed to the strongest environmental pressures per square kilometer in the OECD area," according to a recent report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. "Economic development is... increasingly seen as becoming unsustainable unless current environmental trends... are arrested or even reversed," the report said.

This year, the government had to shut four waste-incinerating plants because they were emitting the lethal poison dioxin. Traces of dioxin were seeping into milk, which the Dutch regard as the essence of a healthy diet.

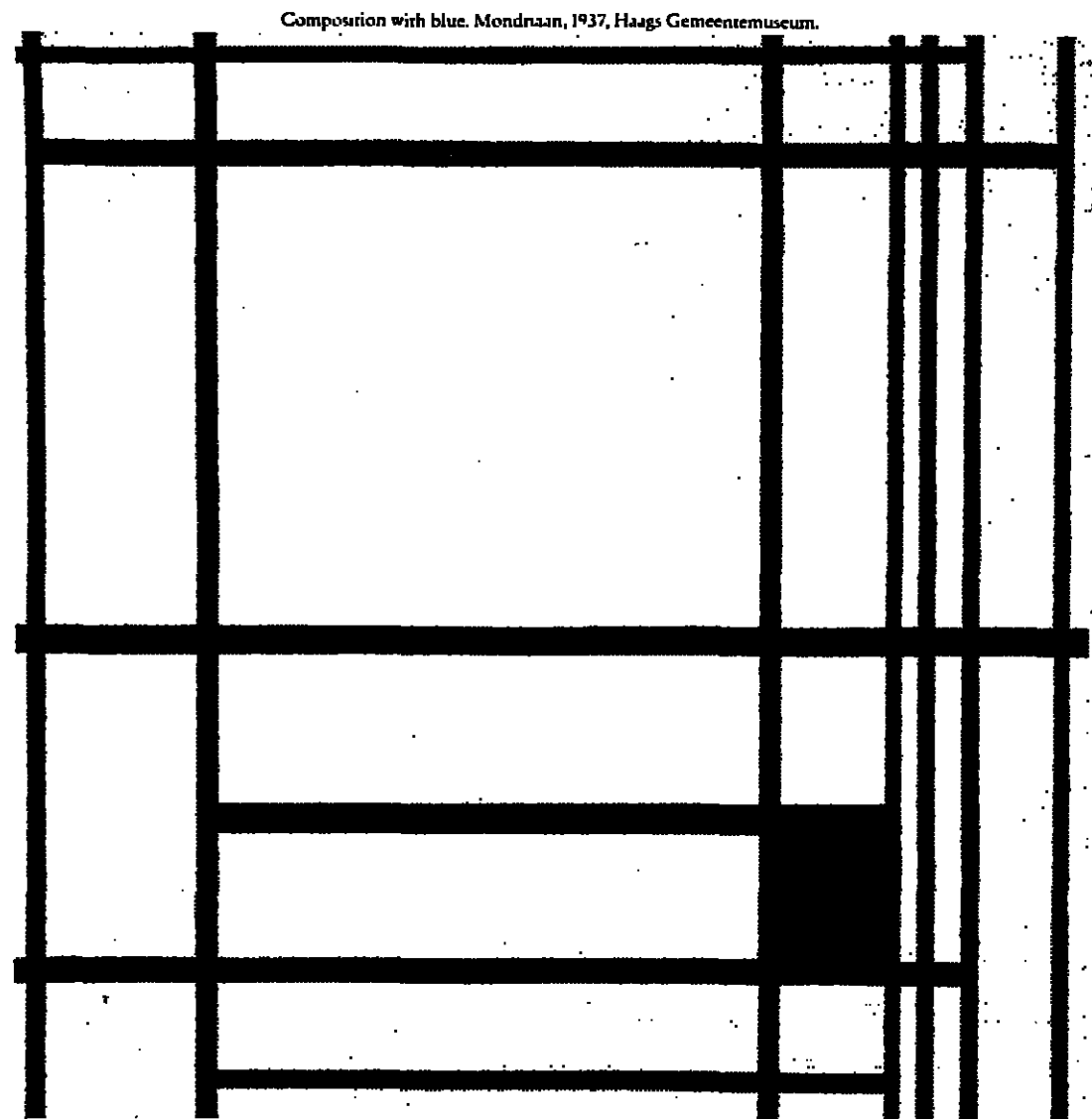
Broadly, government plans aim to cut pollution in water, air and soil by between 70 and 90 percent by 2010. Emissions of carbon dioxide—a prime agent in global warming—are to be cut by between 3 and 5 percent by 2000. The use of ozone-destroying chlorofluorocarbons, known as CFCs, is to be banned from 1994, four years ahead of the rest of Europe.

**P**OPULAR domestic support for the plan is high. A 1989 survey of 2,500 people in the Netherlands showed respondents were prepared to spend an extra 43 guilders (\$26) per household monthly on the proposed environmental improvements. Greenpeace Netherlands has seen its donors more than double to 770,000 since 1987, and

Friends of the Earth expects membership to double again from 28,000 this year.

When the first plan was published, it attracted considerable international attention. France, Denmark, Sweden, Canada and Britain have since followed with comparable documents. But the Dutch plan is still "the crispest and most progressive because it talks about serious money, which, for example, the British are evasive about," according to David Owen, environmental analyst at Paribas Capital Markets in London.

But Jan Blysm, toxics specialist at Greenpeace Netherlands, is skeptical. "We have to see how much gets into actual policy," he said. And environmentalists note that there are signs that the task of reconciling a progressive policy with short-term commercial interests is producing compromises. A scheduled increase in "green" duty on diesel was scrapped last month after fuel prices soared following the Gulf crisis.



Composition with blue. Mondrian, 1937, Haags Gemeentemuseum.

© Mondrian, 1937, © Beeld en Geluid in Amsterdam

# What does this Dutch artist share with Rabobank? Clarity, strength and vision.

Mondrian's paintings are characterised by clear lines, and strong use of form and colour, based on very definite views on his art. Similarly, Rabobank has carefully developed its own vision of banking. As Dutch industry grew, so did Rabobank; building up a network of 2,200 offices to become the largest domestic bank. With one third of all Dutch companies doing business with Rabobank. Today, with total assets of US\$ 90 billion, Rabobank is one of the top 50 banks in the world, with offices in major financial centres and ports around the globe. If you are thinking of doing business with the Netherlands, contact Rabobank. You'll find that our clarity is our strength.

Rabobank

The Art of Dutch Banking

Rabobank Nederland, Coentlaan 18, 3521 CB Utrecht, the Netherlands, Telex 40200.  
New York, Dallas, San Francisco, Sao Paulo, Caracas, London, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Luxembourg, Zurich, Milan, Madrid, Singapore, Hong Kong, Jakarta, Sydney, ADC-Bank (Frankfurt, Berlin, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Hannover, Munich, Stuttgart).



## SPORTS

## Blazers Could Topple Lakers' Dynasty

**New York Times Service**  
**WESTERN CONFERENCE**  
**Midwest Division**  
**Sau Antonio Spurs**  
**Quick Recap** — 56-26 last season, lost to Portland in second round of playoffs.  
**New Faces:** David Greenwood (free agent from Detroit), Paul Pressey (in trade from Milwaukee), Dwayne Schintzius (24th pick).  
**Top Games:** David Robinson (24.3 points, 12 rebounds, 3.8 blocks), Terry Cummings (22.4 points), Willie Anderson (15.7 points), Pressey (11 points).  
**Game Plan:** Robinson should only get better.

## NBA PREVIEW

Depth is the biggest question mark, but Pressey should help in that department. This team has enough talent to win a championship if it shows the maturity to withstand playoff pressure.

**Utah Jazz**  
**Quick Recap:** 55-27, lost to Phoenix in first round of playoffs.  
**New Faces:** Jeff Malone (in trade from Washington).

**Top Games:** Karl Malone (31 points, 56.2 percent field-goal average, 11.1 rebounds), Jeff Malone (24.3 points), John Stockton (17.2 points, 4.5 assists, 2.6 steals), Mark Eaton (2.4 blocks).

**Game Plan:** Jeff Malone, one of the game's best outside shooters, will give the Jazz more diversity, but Utah still lacks a strong bench.

**Dallas Mavericks**  
**Quick Recap:** 47-35, lost to Portland in first round of playoffs.

**New Faces:** Alex English (free agent from Denver), Fat Lever (in trade from Denver), Rodney McCray (in trade from Sacramento).

**Top Games:** Rolando Blackman (19.4 points), Lever (18.3 points, 2.1 steals, 4.1 percent on three-pointers), Derek Harper (18 points, 2.2 steals), English (17.9 points).

**Game Plan:** No team helped itself more during the off-season. Lever, English and McCray will benefit from joining a better team.

**Houston Rockets**  
**Quick Recap:** 41-41, lost to Los Angeles Lakers in first round of playoffs.

**New Faces:** Dave Jamerson (15th pick), Roy Marble (in trade from Atlanta), Kenny Smith (in trade from Atlanta).

**Top Games:** Akeem Olajuwon (24.3 points, 2.1 steals, 14 rebounds, 4.5 blocks), Otis Thorpe (17.1 points, 54.8 percent of field goals), Buck Johnson (14.8 points).

**Game Plan:** Olajuwon is one of the game's great players, but his career is being wasted on an average team. He may carry Houston to the playoffs, but he is unlikely to take them much further.

**Denver Nuggets**  
**Quick Recap:** 43-39, lost to San Antonio in first round of playoffs.

**New Faces:** Chris Jackson (third pick), Paul Westhead (coach, from Loyola Marymount), Orlando Woolridge (in trade from Los Angeles Lakers).

**Top Games:** Walter Davis (17.5 points, 9.2

percent free-throw average), Michael Adams (15.5 points).

**Game Plan:** Westhead hopes his high-octane offense camouflages a lack of depth. Deaver traded away its top two scorers, which puts more pressure on Jackson.

**Minnesota Timberwolves**  
**Quick Recap:** 22-60, failed to make playoffs.

**New Faces:** Scott Brooks (in trade from Philadelphia), Gerald Glass (20th pick), Felton Spencer (sixth pick).

**Top Games:** Tony Campbell (23.2 points), Tyrone Corbin (14.7 points, 2.1 steals).

**Game Plan:** The best of the four expansion teams. If Glass and Spencer have solid rookie seasons, the 30-victory mark is within reach.

**Orlando Magic**  
**Quick Recap:** 18-64, failed to make playoffs.

**New Faces:** Greg Kite (free agent from Sacramento), Dennis Scott (fourth pick).

**Top Games:** Terry Catledge (19.4 points), Otis Smith (13.5 points).

**Game Plan:** Orlando lacks two essentials for winning teams: defense and a quality center.

**Akeem Olajuwon is one of the game's great players, but his career is being wasted on an average team in Houston.**

No team in the league surrendered more points last season.

**Pacific Division**  
**Portland Trail Blazers**

**Quick Recap:** 59-23, lost to Detroit in league championship series.

**New Faces:** Alaa Abdelnaby (25th pick), Danny Ainge (in trade from Sacramento).

**Top Games:** Clyde Drexler (23.3 points), Ainge (17.9 points), Terry Porter (17.6 points, 89.2 percent of free throws, 9.1 assists), Kevin Duckworth (16.2 points), Jerome Kersey (16 points), Buck Williams (54.8 percent of field goals, 9.8 rebounds), Drazen Petrovic (45.9 percent on three-pointers).

**Game Plan:** The Blazers were the league's best rebounding team; they have the versatility to be effective playing either up-tempo or half-court, and adding Ainge gives Portland a three-guard rotation that rivals Detroit's. A serious threat to end the Lakers' 11-year reign as division champion.

**Los Angeles Lakers**  
**Quick Recap:** 63-19, lost to Phoenix in second round of playoffs.

**New Faces:** Mike Dunleavy (coach, a former Milwaukee assistant), Sam Perkins (free agent from Dallas), Terry Teagle (in trade from Golden State).

**Top Games:** Magic Johnson (22.3 points, 89 percent of free throws, 11.5 assists), James Worthy (21.1 points, 54.8 percent of field goals), Teagle (16.1 points), Perkins (15.9 points), Byron Scott (15.5 points, 42.3 percent on 3-pointers).

**Game Plan:** Dunleavy wants the Lakers to

run more than last season, and they still have the legs to do it. If his defense improves, Vlade Divac will start at center. Scott is 100 percent again, and Johnson still has tricks up his sleeve. The team of the '80s remains a championship contender in the '90s.

**Phoenix Suns**  
**Quick Recap:** 54-28, lost to Portland in Western Conference finals.

**New Faces:** Ed Nealy (free agent from Chicago).

**Top Games:** Tom Chambers (27.2 points), Kevin Johnson (22.5 points, 11.4 assists), Jeff Hornacek (17.6 points), Eddie Johnson (16.9 points, 91.7 percent of free throws), Mark West (62.5 percent of field goals, 2.2 blocks).

**Game Plan:** Their talent virtually guarantees another 50-victory season, but whether they are tough enough to reach the league finals remains to be seen.

**Los Angeles Clippers**  
**Quick Recap:** 30-52, failed to make playoffs.

**New Faces:** Bo Kimble (eighth pick), Mike Schuler (coach, a former Portland coach), Loy Vaught (13th pick).

**Top Games:** Ron Harper (22.8 points), Charles Smith (21.1 points), Danny Manning (16.3 points), Gary Grant (10 assists).

**Game Plan:** Harper is not scheduled to return from knee surgery until January, but Grant has recovered from his broken leg. If they stay healthy, the Clippers have too much talent not to make a strong run at the playoffs.

**Seattle SuperSonics**  
**Quick Recap:** 41-41, failed to make playoffs.

**New Faces:** K.C. Jones (coach, a former Celtic coach by way of Seattle front office), Gary Payton (second pick).

**Top Games:** Dale Ellis (23.5 points), Xavier McDaniel (21.3 points).

**Game Plan:** It won't take Jones long to realize he is not coaching Boston anymore. Seattle lacks an effective center; it is a poor passing team, and the bench is unproven.

**Golden State Warriors**  
**Quick Recap:** 37-45, failed to make playoffs.

**New Faces:** Tyrone Hill (11th pick).

**Top Games:** Chris Mullin (25.1 points, 88.9 percent of free throws), Mitch Richmond (22.1 points), Tim Hardaway (14.1 points, 8.7 assists, two steals).

**Game Plan:** Golden State led the league in scoring, so offense is not a problem. But this division may be the league's best, meaning the Warriors will struggle just to make the playoffs.

**Sacramento Kings**  
**Quick Recap:** 23-59, failed to make playoffs.

**New Faces:** Duane Causwell (18th pick), Bobby Hansen (in trade from Utah), Byron Irvin (in trade from Portland), Eric Leckner (in trade from Utah), Travis Mays (14th pick), Lionel Simmons (seventh pick), Kory Spang (in trade from Miami), Bill Wennington (in trade from Dallas).

**Top Games:** Wayman Tisdale (22.3 points), Antoine Carr (12.3 points).

**Game Plan:** After seven consecutive losing seasons, the Kings didn't just clean house; they built a new one. With so many new players, their coach, Dick Motta, faces the stiff challenge of molding them into winning a unit.



## Pelé at 50: The Touch Is Still Magic, but Brazil Falts

Pelé, the legendary soccer star who led Brazil to three World Cup titles, firing a pass during a match organized in Milan for his 50th birthday. Pelé played the first 40 minutes for Brazil's national team, which lost, 2-1, to a squad of international stars.

## German Soccer Fans Riot in Luxembourg

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**LUXEMBOURG** — Germany, the 1990 World Cup champion, struggled to a 3-2 victory over Luxembourg in a qualifying match for soccer's European Championship that was marred by fan violence.

Luxembourg, which has not won an international match since 1972, trailed 3-0 but rallied and had four good chances to tie the score on Wednesday night. The Germans are unbeaten in 13 games.

Thirty Germans were arrested and 12 injured in rioting, the police said.

They said German fans overturned cars and smashed windows and doors after the match. They also wrecked two concession stands before the game.

Several people were taken away by ambulances but it was not

known how seriously they were injured. The police, who sealed off surrounding streets, said the fighting began when several hundred German fans without tickets forced their way into the stadium.

There were 6,000 German fans at the game.

Fighting between rival fans also occurred in the stands during the game.

Germany started the Group Five game with nine players from its World Cup squad and looked like it would have an easy victory. But Jupp Geis scored for Luxembourg in the 57th minute and Robby Langers added a goal eight minutes later.

Jürgen Klinsmann, Uwe Bein and Rudi Völler scored the German goals.



A German fan brandishing a stick during the Luxembourg match.

## BOOKS

## VLADIMIR NABOKOV: The Russian Years

By Brian Boyd. 607 pages. \$25. Princeton University Press, 41 William St., Princeton, N.J. 08540.

Reviewed by Michael Dirda

WHILE Vladimir Nabokov was growing up in St. Petersburg — he was born in 1899 — his family employed 50 servants. As a boy, Volodya was chauffeured every day to and from the prestigious Tenishev School. At 17 a wayward young dandy and already a published poet, he inherited a country estate and the equivalent of several million dollars.

By the end of this first volume of two in Brian Boyd's comprehensive, majestic biography, Vladimir Nabokov is 41 years old, virtually penniless, on his way from Paris to New York where he will be offered a job as a bicycle delivery boy. In the next 20 years this Russian exile will coolly transform himself into an American author, create the most brilliant English prose style of his time, compose a handful of masterpieces of which "Invitation of a Stranger" and "Invitation of a Stranger" are merely the best known, and eventually retire to a life of quiet luxury at the Montreux Palace Hotel in Switzerland.

But all this glimmers in the dove-gray future. In "Vladimir Nabokov: The Russian Years," Boyd leisurely chronicles the achievements of a European writer, one

who wrote nine novels, a handful of plays, dozens of stories and scores of poems, all in Russian, between 1914 and 1957.

After the revolution, Nabokov's father — an able and admirable liberal politician — took his family to Berlin, where a flourishing Russian community existed, some 300,000 strong, big enough to support more than 80 publishers. While Volodya ambled off to Cambridge to complete his education, the Nabokov family became a center of exiled Russian culture. In 1922, though, tragedy struck: Nabokov's father was introducing an old ally at a political meeting when an assassin rushed the podium. V. D. Nabokov wrestled the assailant to the floor, and was immediately shot three times by an accomplice. He died instantly.

After the death of his father, the otherwise irreligious Nabokov reveals an increasing fascination with the possibility of an afterlife, complete with spirits. This sense of other states of being, says Boyd, accounts for both the "proppiness" of Nabokov's fiction and its tendency to modulate into a spectral otherworld. Boyd returns repeatedly to this theme of self and temporal transcendence, but never so obtrusively as to get in the way of good stories and anecdotes.

The Russian Revolution takes place literally down the block while Volodya hardly notices, so intent is he on writing poems for his latest beloved. He translates "Alice in Wonderland" into Russian (the heroine becomes Anya), forgoes with Pavlova, plays chess with

Alekshine, works as a cherry picker in Providence and a tennis teacher in Berlin. He chases butterflies everywhere; of this passion for "leaps," he says, "I didn't choose them. They chose me."

"The Russian Years" naturally builds toward an account of "The Gift" (1937), for many the greatest 20th-century novel written in Russian. It contains the kernels of virtually all the fiction that Nabokov will pop up during the next 30 years. And, above all, the novel is a love song for Nabokov's wife, Vera; she is "the gift."

Boyd, a professor of English at the University of Auckland, writes a plain reader-friendly prose, at once clear, efficient and meticulous. Occasionally, he will belabor interpretations of Nabokov's poems or fictions, but never does he fall prey to a self-conscious pseudo-Nabokovian style of elaborate wordplay and convoluted literary conceits. Now and again, Boyd will tip his hat to the master, as when he labels the unscholarly Nabokov of his Cambridge years "a chirping cicada, not an industrious ant, a playful otter, not an eager beaver." But these moments elicit a smile rather than a grimace. The scholarship is exemplary.

In every respect then, this is yet another of those mastery literary biographies of recent years, eligible to sit at the right hand of Richard Ellmann's "James Joyce."

Michael Dirda is on the staff of The Washington Post.

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

YOUNG players tend to be too

hungry in the bidding, seeking penalties by doubling low-level contracts rather too often. West fell into this trap on the diagrammed deal from the Junior Teams Tournament played some time ago at Port Chester, N.Y. East-West were using the "Cappelletti" method over opposing no-trump bids, so two clubs by East showed an unspecified one-suited hand. This was likely to be a six-card suit, so West should certainly have bid three spades when the bidding reached the three-level and his partner would have brought home nine tricks. There were several objections to the double of three hearts: the space fit reduced the defensive prospects; the potential of the hearts was inadequate; the potential profit was small; and the potential loss large. The declarer was Kenny Zuckerberg, who learned the game eight years ago at the age of 9 but has been "retired" for several years. His partner was his sister, Debbie, an established star at the age of 22. The opening lead was ruffed and a diamond finesse was taken successfully. Another spade ruff, another diamond lead, and a third spade ruff completed the first five tricks. South led the club jack, covered by the king and ace, and ruffed dummy's last spade with the heart jack. West overruffed, but there was no defense. Dummy's ace-nine-eight of hearts, combined with the queen in the closed hand, were worth three more tricks. South's dummy reversal play gained his team 13 tricks, for in the replay South failed by two tricks in four hearts doubled.

**WEST**  
 ♠ 863  
 ♥ A98  
 ♦ A9  
 ♣ A762

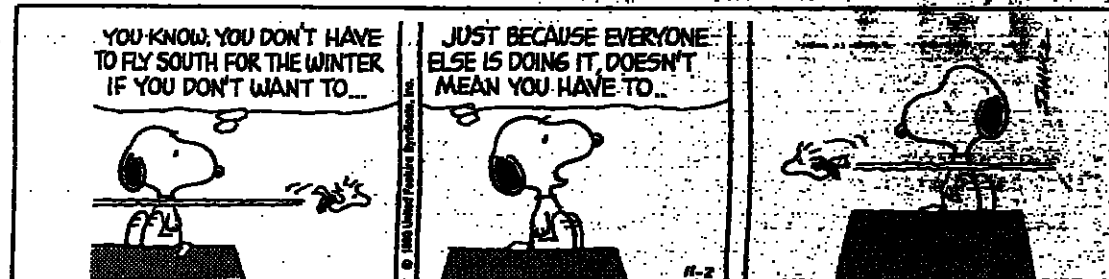
**EAST**  
 ♠ AQ954  
 ♥ Q75  
 ♦ Q943  
 ♣ QJ748

**THE BIDDING:**  
 West 1NT, 2♣, 3♣, 4♣, 5♣, 6♣, 7♣, 8♣, 9♣, 10♣, 11♣, 12♣, 13♣, 14♣, 15♣, 16♣, 17♣, 18♣, 19♣, 20♣, 21♣, 22♣, 23♣, 24♣, 25♣, 26♣, 27♣, 28♣, 29♣, 30♣, 31♣, 32♣, 33♣, 34♣, 35♣, 36♣, 37♣, 38♣, 39♣, 40♣, 41♣, 42♣, 43♣, 44♣, 45♣, 46♣, 47♣, 48♣, 49♣, 50♣, 51♣, 52♣, 53♣, 54♣, 55♣, 56♣, 57♣, 58♣, 59♣, 60♣, 61♣, 62♣, 63♣, 64♣, 65♣, 66♣, 67♣, 68♣, 69♣, 70♣, 71♣, 72♣, 73♣, 74♣, 75♣, 76♣, 77♣, 78♣, 79♣, 80♣, 81♣, 82♣, 83♣, 84♣, 85♣, 86♣, 87♣, 88♣, 89♣, 90♣, 91♣, 92♣, 93♣, 94♣, 95♣, 96♣, 97♣, 98♣, 99♣, 100♣.

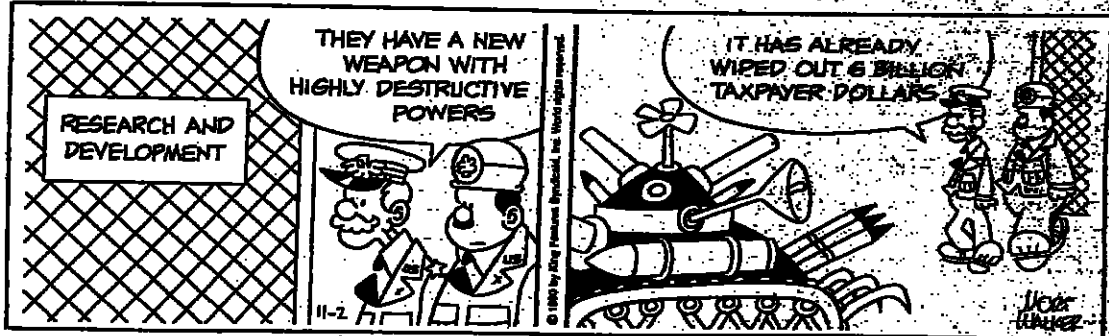
East and West were vulnerable.

West led the spade two.

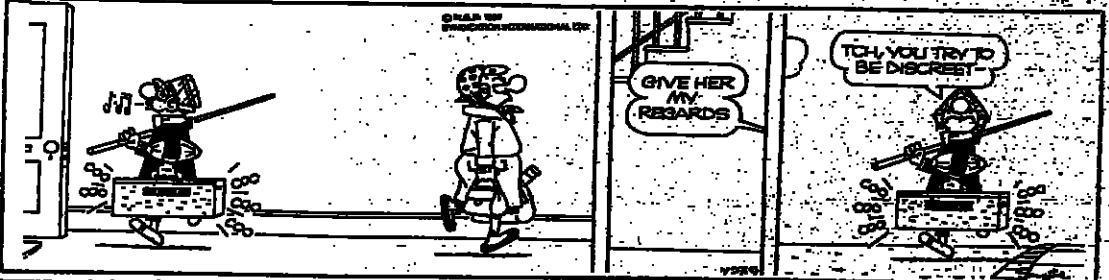
## PEANUTS



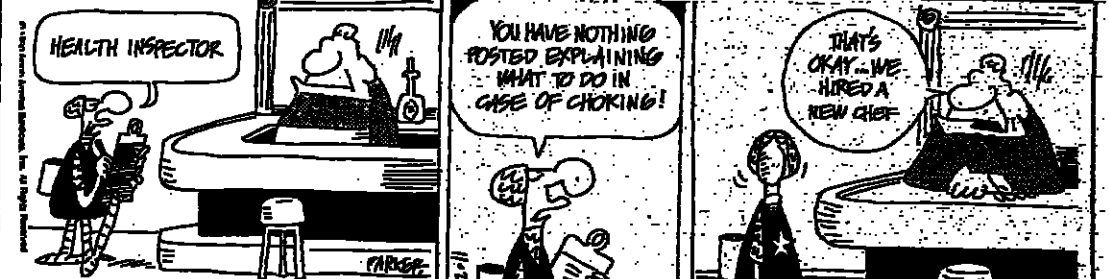
## BEETLE BAILEY



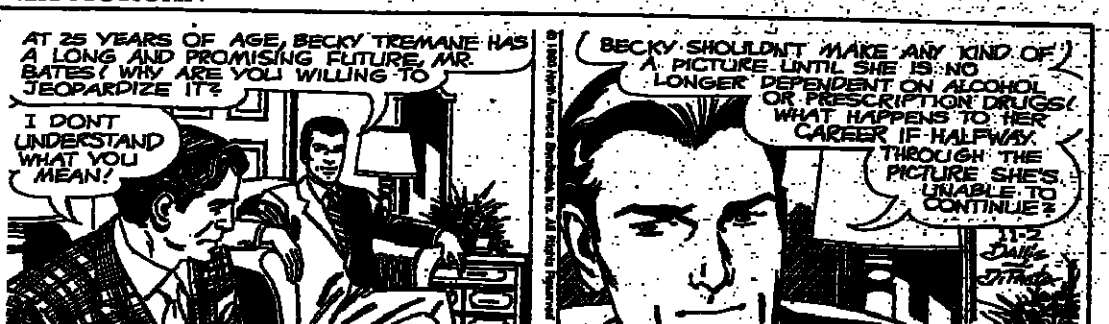
## ANDY CAPE



## WIZARD of ID



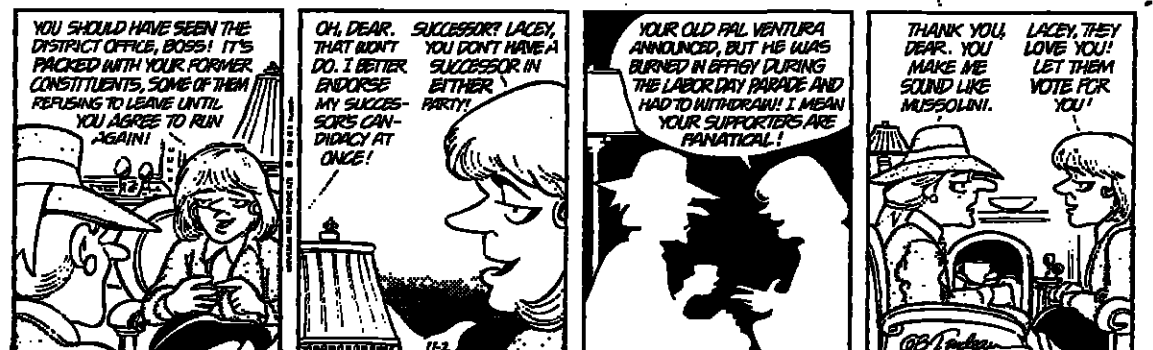
## REX MORGAN



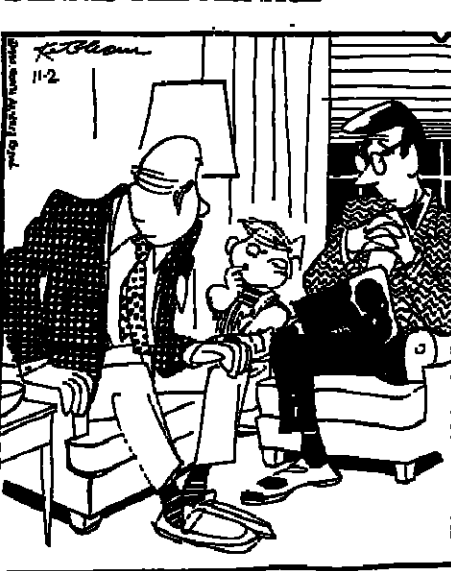
## GARFIELD



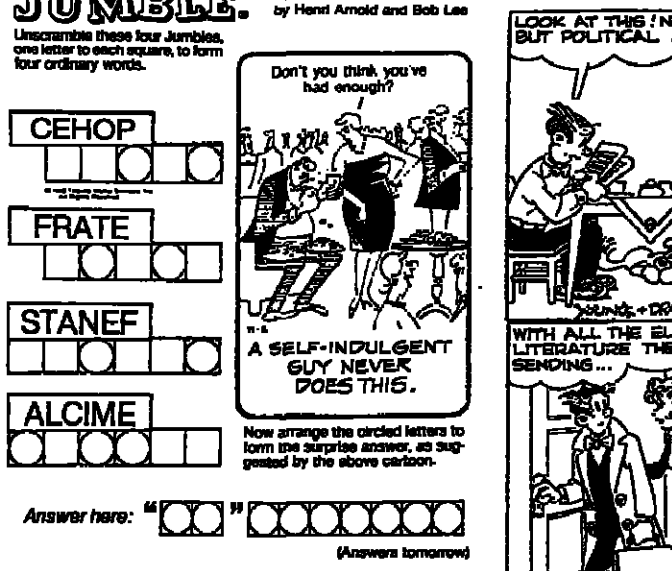
## DOONESBURY



## DENNIS THE MENACE



## JUMBLE



## BLONDIE



سكنا من الأصل







